THE

ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE

Building of *Rome*, to the Ruin of the *Commonwealth*.

Illuſtrated with MAPS and other Plates.

VOL. XI.

By N. HOOKE, Eſq;

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE Roman Hiſtory.

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TENTH BOOK.

CHAP. XI.

Cæsar's grand deſigns for the good of the Roman Empire. His death and character.

C. Julius Cæsar, Dictator II.
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ON the opening of the new year, *Cæſar* entered into his fifth conſulſhip, in partnerſhip with *M. Antony*: He had promiſed it all along to *Dolabella*, but, contrary to expectation, took it at laſt to himſelf[z]. This was contrived by *Antony*, who, jealous of *Dolabella*, as a rival in *Cæſar*'s favour, had been ſuggeſting ſomewhat to his diſadvantage, and labouring to create a diffi-

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Middl. p. 221.

[z] There were ſixteen Prætors this year the moſt diſtinguiſhed of whom were *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and ſix Ediles. Beſides the two curule and the two plebeian Ediles, *Cæſar* had inſtituted two more, called *Cereales*, who were to have the inſpection of corn and all kinds of grain for the proviſion of the city.

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

dence of him in *Cæſar*; which ſeems to have been the ground of what is mentioned above, *Cæſar*'s guarding himſelf ſo particularly, when he paſſed by his villa. *Dolabella* was ſenſibly touched with this affront, and came full of indignation to the Senate, where, not daring to vent his ſpleen on *Cæſar*, he entertained the aſſembly with a ſevere ſpeech againſt *Antony*: Which drew on many warm and angry words between them; till *Cæſar*, to end the diſpute, promiſed to reſign the conſulſhip to *Dolabella*, before he went to the *Parthian* war. But *Antony* proteſted, that, by his authority as Augur, he would diſturb that election, whenever it ſhould be attempted [a]; and declared, without any ſcruple, that the ground of his quarrel with *Dolabella* was, for having caught him in an attempt to debauch his wife *Antonia*, the daughter of his uncle [b]; though that was

Philipp. ii. 32.

[a] This proves, by the way, that *Cæſar* kept up the uſual forms in the election of magiſtrates.

[b] *Cicero* relates, as an aggravating circumſtance, that *Antony* made this diſhonourable declaration in the preſence of his uncle and father-in-law *Antonius*: Omnibus eum [C. Antonium patrem Antoniæuxoris tuæ] contumeliis oneraſti, quem patris loco, ſi ulla pietas in te eſſet, colere debebas; filiam ejus, uxorem tuam, ejeciſti, alia conditione quæſita et ante perſpecta: [*Cicero* inſinuates, that he was already in good terms with *Fulvia*, and had determined to marry her] Non eſt ſatis: *Probri inſimulaſti pudiciſſimam fœminam: Quid eſt, quod addi poſſit? contentus eo non fuiſti. Frequentiſſimo Senatu kalendis Jan. ſedente Patruo, hanc tibi eſſe cum Dolabella cauſam odii dicere auſus es, quod ab eo ſorori & uxori tuæ ſtuprum oblatum eſſe comperiſſes. Quis interpretari poteſt, impudentiorne, qui in Senatu: an improbior, qui in Dola-*

was thought to be a calumny, contrived to colour his divorce with her, and his late marriage with *Fulvia* the widow of *P. Clodius.* Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Cæſar, ſays *Plutarch*, being born for great atchievements, and paſſionately fond of glory, his continual ſucceſs was no inducement to him to enjoy the fruits of his labours, but became a ſpur to animate him to greater enterpriſes. He grew inſenſible to preſent glory, that he might ſeek freſh honour; and, becoming, in a manner, his own rival, he was ambitious by new enterpriſes and exploits to efface the ſplendor of his former ones. He had always entertained the thoughts of avenging the death of *Craſſus*, his friend and partner in power; and no ſooner had he put an end to the *African* war, than he openly declared his intention to retrieve the honour of the Empire, and made preparations for this expedition, which the people greatly approved of. After his return from *Spain*, he ſent his legions before him into *Macedonia*, intending, before he led them into the Eaſt, to chaſtiſe the *Daci*, who had made inroads Plut. in Cæſ.

Dolabellam: An impurior, qui Patruo audiente: An crudelior, qui in illam miſeram, tam ſpurcè tam impiè dixeris? Phil. ii. 38. *Dio*, in a ſpeech, which he has compoſed for *Cicero* againſt *Calenus*, makes his orator reproach *Antony* with his unkind behaviour to *C. Antonius*, whom he neither recalled from baniſhment during *Cæſar*'s adminiſtration, nor after his death. Thus the genuine *Cicero* and the perſonated *Cicero* contradict one another. Many obſervations of the ſame kind may be made, which evidently prove, that the long invectives which we find in the *Greek* hiſtorian are either the production of his own imagination, or copied from very inaccurate memoirs.

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 40ſ Conſ.

upon the *Roman* territory; and, after he had vanquiſhed the *Parthians*, he propoſed to go by *Hyrcania* to the borders of the *Caſpian* ſea, to paſs Mount *Caucaſus*, and return, through *Scythia*, *Germany*, and *Gaul*, into *Italy*, extending and ſecuring on all ſides, in his progreſs, the frontiers of the *Roman* empire. As this expedition could not be executed in leſs than two or three years, he appointed Conſuls and other magiſtrates for the two following, leſt, in his abſence, the elections for theſe offices might raiſe diſturbances in the city. *A. Hirtius* and *C. Vibius Panſa* were elected Conſuls for the next, and *D. Brutus* and *Munacius Plancus* for the following year.

The neceſſary preparations for ſo grand an enterpriſe did not divert his attention from the works of peace: Various deſigns, all uncommonly great, employed his thoughts. He laid the foundations of two magnificent edifices for the ornament of the city; a temple to *Venus*, which, for grandeur, would have exceeded every thing in the world of that kind; and a theatre of immenſe extent; both which were afterwards completed by *Auguſtus*. He undertook to rebuild and repair ſeveral towns in *Italy*, to drain the *Pomptine* marſhes, which render, to this day, the air of that part of *Italy* very unwholſome; to diſcharge the lake *Fucinus*; to dig a new bed for the *Tiber* from *Rome* to the ſea, in order to facilitate the navigation of that river; to form a port at *Oſtia*, capable of receiving the firſt-rate ſhips; to make a cauſey over the *Appenine* mountains from the *Adriatic* ſea to *Rome*; to rebuild *Corinth* and

Car-

Carthage, whither he had tranſported colonies of *Roman* citizens, a project alſo perfected by *Auguſtus*; to cut through the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, to ſave the ſeamen the trouble and danger of navigating round the *Peloponneſus*; and to take an exact geographical map of the who *Roman* empire, with all its roads, and the diſtances of the towns. He alſo employed the learned *Varro* to collect a library of all the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, which he intended for the uſe of the public, and which was placed by *Auguſtus* in the temple of *Apollo* on Mount *Palatine*. In fine, he formed the deſign of abridging the collection of *Roman* laws, and, out of that immenſe and extravagant bulk into which they had ſwelled, to draw together in a ſmall compaſs the beſt and moſt neceſſary.

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chri. 43. 408 Conſ.

Thus was *Cæſar* continually looking round him from his dictatorial chair, how beſt to acquit himſelf of his duty, and to ſuſtain the dignity of his office; filling up the greateſt poſts of truſt and honour with men of eminence, courage, and capacity; relying, entirely, without any guards, upon the affections of the people, when a dire conſpiracy was formed againſt his life, which deprived mankind of the benefit of ſuch univerſal benevolence, and was as fatal to thoſe who engaged in it.

We are told by the ancient hiſtorians, *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, and *Dio*, who have evidently taken their accounts from *Pompeian* memoirs, that *Cæſar*'s uſual prudence intirely failed him at once; and, as if the height to which he was mounted had

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

turned his head and made him giddy, he ran mad after the appellation of *King*; and, when he was actually poſſeſſed, in quality of *Dictator*, *Emperor*, and *Maſter of Manners*, of all the power of the Empire, was not ſtill content without a title, which could add nothing to him but envy and popular odium. The proofs of this heavy charge lie in the following facts: On the 26*th* of *January*, returning with the pomp of an *ovation*, decreed him by the Senate, from Mount *Albanus*, where he had celebrated the *Feriæ Latinæ*, amidſt the acclamations of the people, he was ſaluted *King* by ſome in the throng, and, at the ſame time, a royal diadem with a crown of laurel was fixed upon one of his ſtatues. The multitude, ſays *Plutarch*, was ſilent, and ſeemed abaſhed, and *Cæſar* was forced to anſwer, *My name is Cæſar, not King:* And it was remarked that he paſſed on with an air of ſullenneſs and diſſatisfaction, as one diſappointed of his expectations. *Epidius Marullus* and *Cæſetius Flavus*, two Tribunes of the People, ordered the diadem to be taken down, and committed to priſon the man who had put it round the head of the ſtatue, declaring that they would alſo puniſh thoſe who had dared to ſtyle him *King*; for that *Cæſar* refuſed and abhorred that title. *Cæſar*, ſays *Suetonius*, was much concerned that the mention of his advancement to the royal dignity had been made with ſo little ſucceſs, or, as he pretended, that he had been thus deprived by the Tribunes of the honour of refuſing it: *He accuſed them before the Senate of a deſign to raiſe a ſedition againſt him,*

him, by perſuading the city, that he really affected to be a King; but, when the Senate was going to paſs the ſevereſt ſentence againſt them, he was content with depoſing them from their magiſtracy, and expelling them from the Senate. From that day, adds *Suetonius*, he was never able to wipe away the ſcandal of affecting the name of *King* [c].

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Dio, 44.

But the Dictator's intentions are ſuppoſed to have been clearly manifeſted by *Antony*'s bold attempt a few days after, on the 15*th* of *February*, when the feſtival of the *Lupercalia* was celebrated. *Cæſar*, in his triumphal robe, being ſeated upon his golden chair in the Roſtra, to ſee the diverſion of the running, *Antony*, then Conſul, in the midſt of the ſport, at the head of the *Luperci*, made him the offer of a royal diadem, and eſſayed ſeveral times to put it upon his head. *Cæſar* as often rejected it, and at laſt ſent it away to the Capitol, proclaiming, that *Jupiter* was the *only King of the Romans:* And *Antony* had it entered into the public acts, "that, by the command "of the People, as Conſul, he had offered the "name of King to *Cæſar*, *perpetual Dictator*, and "that *Cæſar* would not accept of it [d]."

[c] Is not this a ſtrange inference? *Cæſar* charges the two Tribunes with a deſign of making him odious, and raiſing a ſedition, by perſuading the city, that he really affected the royal title: The Senate condemns the Tribunes as guilty of this crime: Therefore *Cæſar* moſt certainly affected the royal title.

[d] *Cæſar*, it is ſaid, was angry with the Tribunes *Marullus* and *Flavus for depriving him of the honour of refuſing the crown*: If ſo, and if we muſt believe that the offering of the crown

on

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Notwithſtanding ſo public and ſolemn a refuſal of the royal diadem, *Cæſar* is ſuppoſed to have ſtill proſecuted the ſcheme of getting himſelf called *King*, and to have had recourſe to the miniſters of religion, in order to gain his end. A prophecy was found in the *Sibylline* books, warning the *Romans*, "that the *Parthians* could never "be conquered but by a King:" And it was whiſpered, that *L. Cotta*, one of the Guardians of theſe books, was appointed to lay the oracle before the Senate, and to propoſe that, ſince their moſt mortal enemies could not be vanquiſhed but by a King, *Cæſar* ſhould have that title conferred upon him. But this was no more than a rumour, according to *Cicero*, *Suetonius*, and *Dio* [e].

It

on the feſtival of the *Lupercalia* was not a mere frolic of *Antony*'s, but a thing concerted between him and *Cæſar*; then I do not ſee what abſurdity there is in ſuppoſing, that *Cæſar* took this means to retrieve his honour, and make a public and ſolemn declaration, *that he did not affect the kingly title*, in contradiction to the invidious rumours ſpread by his enemies.

[e] Dr. *Middleton* gives us this rumour for certain fact, and tells us, that *Cæſar*'s impatience to be *a King* accelerated his fate, and puſhed on the nobles, who had conſpired againſt his life, to the immediate execution of their plot; that they might ſave themſelves the ſhame of being forced to concur in an act which they heartily deteſted: And the two *Brutus*'s, in particular, the honour of whoſe houſe was founded in the extirpation of *kingly government*, could not but conſider it as a perſonal infamy, and a diſgrace to their very name to ſuffer the reſtoration of it.—Now, to my apprehenſion, there is in theſe facts and rumours no proof of *Cæſar*'s having affected the *royal* title. It is quite improbable in itſelf, and it is not to be admitted, but upon the ſtrongeſt evidence, that

Middl. p. 225.

It is hard to believe that *Cæſar* either laid ſo much ſtreſs upon an empty, odious title, or that *Bru-* Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

that ſo great a man as *Cæſar* ſhould lay ſo much ſtreſs upon a title; which, ſo far, it is owned, from being an honour to him, ſeemed rather a diminution of his dignity: And I cannot but approve of our late Poet Laureat's reaſoning on this accuſation: "It has never been proved, *that the offering the* Cibber, p. 215.
"*crown to* CÆSAR *was a previouſly concerted expedient between* "*him and Antony to feel the pulſe of the People:* To ſhorten "the queſtion then, let us ſuppoſe all this to be fact, and "ſee what will come out of it; not more than this, ſure, *that* "*Cæſar had a mind to be King, provided it could be with the* "*conſent of the People; but, when he found it was diſagreeable* "*to them, he troubled himſelf no farther about it.* And why "ought we not, with equal reaſon, to believe, that, in *Cæ-*"*ſar's* refuſing the crown, he was as much governed by his "*affection* to the People, as by his *fear* of them? If we al-"low then that *Cæſar* would not have been diſpleaſed, had "the People called upon him to be King, it is as much as "we can, in conſcience, charge him with. But, *if it is* "*inſiſted, that he had ſet his heart upon the title, it will be* "*taking too much from the intrepidity of* CÆSAR *to ſuppoſe he* "*would not, at any hazard, have gratified his ambition.* When "he had once made himſelf maſter of the *Roman* world, could "there be any great difficulty in his giving what name he "pleaſed to his office? It is not eaſy, therefore, to conceive, "that the ſolid ſenſe of *Cæſar* could be very anxious about "a title, which neither the want, nor the acquiſition of, could "leſſen the glory, or add to the honour of his ſtation. The "power of it he was ſecure of, and no title could enlarge it. "But take the power from the regal title, and it will ſignify "no more than the word King in a dictionary. And, tho' a "great deal of ſtreſs has been laid upon this point, as the moſt "unpardonable mark of *Cæſar's* ambition, I cannot ſee why "his deſire, or his indifference to be a *King*, gives him a jot "more or leſs to anſwer for: For, if his bringing order in-"to ſo diſtracted a State will not excuſe his making him-"ſelf *perpetual Dictator*, his being made a *King* could not "have been at all a better or worſe reaſon for deſtroying "him."

tus,

A. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

tus, Caſſius, and their aſſociates were excited by theſe facts to conſpire againſt his life. Other motives will account more naturally for the conſpiracy: Thoſe of the *Pompeian* faction, who engaged in this conſpiracy, were under the influence of an animoſity which *Cæſar*'s clemency could not diſarm; thoſe of his own party who entered into it were guided by an inſatiable avarice, which no rewards could ſatisfy; the hopes of plunder, by throwing the State again into confuſion, had weight with many; and, in relation in particular to *Caſſius* and *Brutus,* the loſs of liberty was leſs afflicting to them, than that they muſt depend upon a *Superior* for preferment; a grievance which *Cæſar* could not ſoften by laying them under the greateſt obligations. *Caſſius,* it is thought, was the firſt contriver of the deſign [f], and imparted his thoughts to ſome of his friends

Sen. de Ira, iii. 30.

[f] *C. Caſſius* was deſcended from one of the moſt ancient and honourable families of the Republic. He is ſaid to have ſhewn a remarkable inſtance, when a boy, of his high ſpirit and love of liberty; for he gave *Sylla*'s ſon *Fauſtus* a box on the ear for bragging, among his ſchool-fellows, of his father's greatneſs and abſolute power; and when *Pompey* called the boys before him, to give an account of their quarrel, he declared, in his preſence, *that, if Fauſtus ſhould dare to repeat the words, he would repeat the blow.* In his later years he was converted from *Stoiciſm* to be a follower of *Epicurus*; maintaining, that the pleaſure, which his maſter recommended, was to be found only in the habitual practice of juſtice and virtue. While he profeſſed himſelf, therefore, an *Epicurean,* he lived like a *Stoic*; was moderate in pleaſures, temperate in diet, and a water-drinker through life. He married *Tertia,* the ſiſter of *Brutus,* with whom he was ſtrictly

friends before he communicated them to *Brutus*; but, upon their telling him that it was of the greateſt importance to have a man of *Brutus*'s reputation and credit [g] at the head of the enterpriſe, Y.R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

ly united in friendſhip and politics. We have ſeen his gallant behaviour againſt the *Parthians* after *Craſſus*'s death, and his conduct in the civil war. The ancient hiſtorians give him the character of a brave, witty, and learned man; but paſſionate, fierce, and cruel: And they have aſſigned very frivolous reaſons of diſguſt, as the motives of his killing *Cæſar*: *That Cæſar* took *a number of lions from him, which he had provided for a public ſhew; that he would not give him the conſulſhip; that he gave* BRUTUS *the more honourable prætorſhip in preference to him.* Middl. p. 229.

[g] *M. Junius Brutus* pretended to derive his name and deſcent in a direct line from that firſt Conſul *L. Brutus*, who expelled *Tarquin*, and gave freedom to the *Roman* people; and *Atticus* paid him the compliment to draw up his genealogy. But *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, and other writers, do not allow him this illuſtrious original; becauſe, for upwards of two hundred years, the *Roman* hiſtory mentions none but a Plebeian of that name, who was one of the firſt Tribunes of the people; and when afterwards the *Brutus's* were raiſed to the firſt dignities of the State, they were looked upon as a new race of people. However, at the time we are ſpeaking of, as this family had enjoyed, for two centuries, the firſt honours and poſts of the State, it is no wonder that the opinion favourable to the pretenſion of *Brutus* prevailed. He was now one-and-forty years old, being born in the conſulſhip of *L. Cornelius Cinna* III. and *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, A. U. 668; Which fully confutes, as Dr. *Middleton* obſerves, the vulgar ſtory of his being commonly believed to be *Cæſar*'s ſon: Since he was but fifteen years younger than *Cæſar* himſelf: whoſe familiarity with his mother *Servilia* cannot be ſuppoſed to have commenced till many years after *Brutus* was born; or not till *Cæſar* had loſt his firſt wife *Cornelia*, whom he married when he was very young, and always tenderly loved; and whoſe funeral oration he made when he was *Quæſtor*, and

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priſe, and that they would not otherwiſe engage in it, he immediately made him privy to it. *Brutus* entered into it readily; and we are told, that he was ſpurred on by ſeveral billets and inſcriptions, reproaching him with his inaction. In one left upon his prætorian tribunal, was written, *You are aſleep, Brutus, you are no true Brutus.* Upon the pedeſtal of the ſtatue of the elder *Brutus* were found the following words: *Would thou couldſt come to life again!* and under the ſtatue of *Cæſar*: *Brutus, for having expelled the Kings, was made the firſt Conſul; and this man, for having expelled the Conſuls, is now become our King.* *Caſſius* and *Brutus* admitted to the number of ſixty accomplices; the chief of whom were *Trebonius*, *Decimus Brutus*, *Q. Ligarius*, *Servius Galba*, *C.* and *P. Servilius Caſca*, *Tillius Cimber*, and *Minu-*

Suet. in Cæſ.

and conſequently *thirty years old*. *Brutus*, having loſt his father when very young, was trained, with great care, by his uncle *Cato*, in all the ſtudies of polite letters, eſpecially of eloquence and philoſophy. He had excellent parts and equal induſtry, and acquired an early fame at the bar, where he pleaded ſeveral cauſes of great importance, and was eſteemed the moſt eloquent and learned of all the young nobles. His manner of ſpeaking was correct, elegant, and judicious, yet wanting that force and copiouſneſs which are required in a conſummate orator. But philoſophy was his favourite ſtudy; in which, though he profeſſed himſelf of the more moderate ſect of the *old Academy*, yet, from a certain pride and gravity of temper, he affected the ſeverity of the *Stoic*. Whether he was a man of ſo much mildneſs, ſuch ſtrict probity, and conſummate virtue, as *Plutarch* pretends, his actions muſt evince. His credit, at this time, was due to his birth, his alliances, his talents, perhaps too his riches, which he increaſed with great application and induſtry. See Vol. III. n. 568.

cius Baſilus. *Plutarch*, among many other improbable circumſtances, relates, that the conſpirators had thoughts of letting *Antony* into the ſecret, who was upon very good terms with ſeveral of them; but that *Trebonius* oppoſed it, telling them that he had ſounded *Antony* at *Narbonne*, when *Cæſar* was on his return from the *Spaniſh* war, and that he very well underſtood his meaning, but did not ſeem inclined to engage with him; though he was ſure he had inviolably kept his ſecret [h]. The ſame author adds, that though *Brutus* did not think it ſafe to truſt *Cicero* with the deſign of the conſpiracy, on account of his want of reſolution, he yet mentioned it to his wife *Porcia* [i].

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The

[h] *Cicero*, Phil. ii. 14, affirms, that *Antony* aſſented to *Trebonius*'s propoſal.—*Si interfici Cæſarem voluiſſe crimen eſt, vide, quæ ſo, Antoni, quid tibi futurum ſit, quem et Narbone hoc conſilium cum C. Trebonio cepiſſe notiſſimum eſt, et ob ejus conſilii ſocietatem cum interficeretur Cæſar tum te à Trebonio vidimus ſevocari. Ego autem (vide quam tecum agam non inimicè) quod benè cogitaſti aliquando, laudo: Quod non indicaſti, gratias ago: Quod non feciſti, ignoſco.*

[i] *Plutarch* tells a very pretty tale upon this occaſion, and we find it alſo in *Dio*. *Brutus*, having undertaken the management of ſo hazardous an enterpriſe, on which depended the liberty of *Rome*, and the fortunes of many virtuous and noble families, was ſo far maſter of himſelf as to preſerve an air of ſerenity during the day and in public; but, when he retired to his family, and during the night, he could not maintain the ſame ſhew of inward peace and tranquillity; and *Porcia* (his new wife, who had robbed *Claudia* of his heart) could eaſily, perceive that his breaſt laboured with ſome great deſign, ſome agoniſing care, which he endeavoured to conceal. As ſhe loved him tenderly, ſhe was deſi-

rous

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The Conſpirators had debated whether they ſhould kill him in the *Campus Martius*, in the eyes of all the people, while he was taking their votes, at the election of the magiſtrates; or in the *Via Sacra*, or at the entrance of the Theatre, or in the Senate-houſe; and at length they determined on the laſt place, as the moſt proper,

rous to ſhare with him his care and trouble; but, before ſhe ventured to put any queſtion to him, ſhe reſolved to make a very extraordinary trial of her own conſtancy. She took a ſmall knife, and, having ſent her women out of the room, thruſt it into her thigh. The wound bled copiouſly, and the violent pain was quickly ſucceeded by a fever. *Brutus* was in the utmoſt conſternation, and knew not what to think. Then *Porcia*, in the extremity of her ſufferings, thus addreſſed him: "*Brutus*, I am *Cato*'s daughter, and was given you "not merely to ſhare your bed and table as a miſtreſs, but "to partake of your good or ill fortune. Your behaviour "to me hitherto has been irreproachable. But how can I "ſerve you, or in what manner can I prove my ſenſe of your "goodneſs, unleſs in aſſiſting you to ſupport a latent un-"eaſineſs, which diſturbs your reſt? Why then am I denied "your confidence? Women, indeed, have no great reputa-"tion for ſecrecy: But a good education and ſuitable com-"pany have great influence on the diſpoſitions and tem-"pers, even of women: And who has a better right to "make a merit of theſe advantages, than *Cato*'s daughter "and *Brutus*'s wife? However, I rely not on any pre-con-"ceived opinion of my reſolution, but have, by experiment, "convinced myſelf that pain cannot ſubdue my courage." She then pointed to the wound ſhe had given herſelf, and declared, that ſhe had no other motive for putting herſelf to that torture, than to make a trial of her conſtancy. *Brutus*, tranſported with admiration, lifted his hands to heaven, and implored the immortal gods to crown his enterpriſe with ſucceſs, that he might live to be a huſband worthy of ſuch a wife: And immediately let her into the whole ſecret of the conſpiracy.

and

and fixed on the *ides of March* as the time when they would execute their deſign. They did not doubt but that the Senate would applaud the act when done, and even aſſiſt, if there was occaſion, in doing it[k]; and there was a circumſtance which particularly encouraged them, that it happened to be *Pompey*'s Senate-houſe, in which their attempt was to be made; and where *Cæſar* would conſequently fall at the feet of *Pompey*'s ſtatue, as a ſacrifice to the manes of that *Ariſtocratic* Chief. They took it alſo for granted that the People would be generally on their ſide; yet, for their greater ſecurity, *D. Brutus* gave orders to arm his gladiators that morning, as if for ſome public ſhew; that they might be ready, on the firſt notice, to ſecure the avenues of the Senate, and defend them from any ſudden violence; and *Pompey*'s theatre, which adjoined to the Senate-houſe, being the propereſt place for the exerciſe of the gladiators, would cover all ſuſpicion that might ariſe from them. The only deliberation that perplexed them, and on which they were much divided, was, whether they ſhould not kill *Antony* alſo and *Lepidus*, together with *Cæſar*; eſpecially *Antony*, who was Conſul, and the more likely to create freſh danger to the Commonwealth. *Caſſius*, with a majority of the company, was warmly for killing them; but the two *Brutus's* as warmly oppoſed and finally over-ruled it:

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Plut. in Cæſ. App. ii. 499. 502. Dio, 247, 248.

[k] If the conſpirators thought ſo, then *Cæſar* had not filled up the Senate with a very great number of *Gauls* and other *Barbarians*.

They

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They alledged, that to ſhed more blood than was neceſſary would diſgrace their cauſe, and draw upon them an imputation of cruelty[1]; and of acting, not as patriots, but as partiſans of *Pompey*; not ſo much to free the city, as to revenge themſelves upon their enemies, and get the dominion of it into their own hands. But what weighed with them moſt was a vain perſuaſion that *Antony* would be tractable, and eaſily reconciled, as ſoon as the deed was over.

As theſe intrigues could not be conducted ſo ſecretly as not to give ſome cauſe of ſuſpicion, *Cæſar*, if we believe *Plutarch*, received information of the nightly meetings of the Conſpirators; and one day, when he was cautioned to be upon his guard againſt *Antony* and *Dolabella*, he anſwered, *It is not thoſe plump, jolly, curled fellows that I am afraid of; it is of the pale, meagre ones:* Under which deſcription he glanced at *Caſſius* and *Brutus*. *Brutus*, in particular, adds the ſame hiſtorian, appeared formidable to him, on account of his courage, ſeverity, and natural impetuoſity: But,

[1] *Cicero* often laments, in his letters, this *fatal miſtake*, Ep. Fam. x. 28. Melm. xiii. 7. "Would to heaven you had in-"vited *me* to that noble feaſt you made on the *ides of March*: "No remnants, moſt aſſuredly, ſhould have been left behind. "Whereas the part you unluckily ſpared gives us ſo much "perplexity, that we find ſomething to regret even in the "godlike ſervice which you and your illuſtrious aſſociates have "lately rendered to the Republic. To ſay the truth, when I "reflect that it is owing to the favour of ſo worthy a man "as yourſelf, that *Antony* now lives to be our general bane; "I am ſometimes inclined to be a little angry with you for "taking him aſide, when *Cæſar* fell."

when

when he reflected on his *probity* and *honour*, his apprehenſions diſappeared; and, when he was adviſed not to truſt him too far, *What*, ſaid he, clapping his hand to his breaſt, *do you think that Brutus will not ſtay till this debilitated carcaſe has finiſhed its career!* *Cæſar* had reſolved to truſt to fortune, and was often heard to ſay that he had rather die once by treachery, than live always in fear of it; that he had lived long enough, and that, by his death, the Empire would be a greater loſer than himſelf. The very night before his aſſaſſination, being at ſupper in *Lepidus*'s houſe, he maintained, that the moſt eligible death was that which was leaſt expected. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

In the morning of the fatal day, we are told, that *Cæſar*, finding himſelf indiſpoſed, was inclined to put off the aſſembly; to which he is ſaid by *Suetonius* and *Plutarch* to have been likewiſe moved by many prodigies that had lately happened, and a dream that his wife *Calpurnia* had that very night, in which ſhe ſaw him ſtabbed in her boſom [m]: but *D. Brutus*, by rallying thoſe Suet. 81. Plut. in Cæſ.

[m] *Suetonius*'s account of the prodigies is as follows, c. 81. "*Cæſar* had warning given him of his approaching fate by "ſeveral plain prodigies. A few months before, when ſome "of the colony which he had ſettled at *Capua* were pulling "down ſome old ſepulchres, and were the buſier in that "work, becauſe they found ſome veſſels of antique work-"manſhip, a table of braſs was diſcovered in a monument "wherein *Capys*, the founder of *Capua*, was ſaid to be buried, "with an inſcription in *Greek* words and letters, to this ef-"fect: *That, whenever the bones of Capys came to be uncover-*"*ed, a deſcendant from* Iülus *would be ſlain by the hands of his* "*relations, and his death revenged by dreadful devaſtations* through-

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fears as unmanly and unworthy of him, and alledging that his abſence would be interpreted as

" *throughout all Italy*: And this account leſt any one ſhould " think it an idle ſtory, *comes from Cornelius Balbus, an inti-* " *mate friend of* CÆSAR." [An excellent reaſon why it ſhould not be a forgery to raiſe the ſpirits of the veterans, and juſtify, in the eyes of the lower ſort, the vengeance of *Cæſar*'s death.] " A few days before his death ſome horſes, which, " upon his paſſing the *Rubicon*, he had conſecrated and " turned looſe to graze without any keeper, would take no " food, and wept plentifully.—The Soothſayer *Spurinna* " warned him, as he was ſacrificing, to look to himſelf, o- " therwiſe ſome miſchief would befal him before the ides " of *March* were over.—The day before the ſaid ides, birds " of ſeveral kinds, from a neighbouring grove, purſuing a " wren, that flew into *Pompey*'s Senate-houſe, with a ſprig of " laurel in his bill, tore it there to pieces.—The night " before the day of his being ſlain, he dreamed that he " was got above the clouds and ſhaking hands with *Jupiter*: " And his wife *Calpurnia* fancied in her ſleep that the top " of the houſe was coming down, and her huſband ſtabbed " in her boſom; and immediately the chamber-doors flew " open."

Cicero, de Div. l. i. 52. l. ii. 16, relates one of the moſt remarkable prodigies ſaid to have happened at this time: " that, as *Cæſar* was ſacrificing, a little before his death, " with great pomp and ſplendor, in his triumphal robes and " golden chair, the victim, which was a fat ox, was found to " be *without a heart*: And, when *Cæſar* ſeemed to be " ſhocked at it, *Spurinna*, the Haruſpex, admoniſhed him " to beware, leſt, through a failure of *counſel*, his life ſhould " be cut off, ſince the heart was the ſeat and ſource of them " both. The next day he ſacrificed again, in hopes to find " the entrails more propitious: But the liver of the bullock " appeared to *want its head*, which was reckoned alſo among " the direful omens." Theſe facts, which are ridiculed by *Cicero*, were probably invented after *Cæſar*'s death. If they really happened, they were contrived by *Cæſar*'s friends, and the

as an affront to the aſſembly, drew him out againſt his will to meet his deſtined fate. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

M. Brutus and *Caſſius* appeared according to cuſtom in the Forum, ſitting in their prætorian tribunals to hear and determine cauſes; where, though they had daggers under their gowns, they ſat with the ſame calmneſs, as if they had nothing upon their minds; till the news of *Cæſar*'s coming out to the Senate called them away to the performance of their part in the tragical act. *Plutarch*, who never fails to give us every circumſtance, that can make his relation more intereſting, whether it be founded on good authority or not, tells us, that, when *Cæſar* came out of his houſe, a ſlave endeavoured to get near and ſpeak to him; but, not having been able to pierce the crowd that attended him, he went into the houſe and deſired *Calpurnia* to ſecure him till *Cæſar*'s return, becauſe he had ſomething to communicate to him of the greateſt importance. In the way to the Senate-houſe, *Artemidorus*, a *Greek* philoſopher, put into his hands a paper containing a circumſtantial account of the whole plot, and ſaid to him: *Read this, and loſe no time, for it concerns you much.* This man, who aſſiſted Plut. in Cæſ.

the heart and head of the liver conveyed away by ſome artifice, to give them a better pretence of inforcing their admonitions, and putting *Cæſar* upon his guard againſt dangers which they really apprehended, from quite different reaſons than the pretended denunciations of the gods. *Suetonius* writes, that on this, or a like occaſion, *Cæſar*'s anſwer was, *that the entrails ſhould be more favourable when he pleaſed, and that it ought not to be looked upon as an ill omen, if a beaſt wanted a heart.*

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ſeveral of *Brutus*'s friends in the proſecution of their ſtudies, had made ſeveral diſcoveries; but *Cæſar*, ſurrounded as he was by his courtiers, could not read the contents, and entered the Senate-houſe with the paper in his hand. Many circumſtances gave the Conſpirators great alarms, and put their fortitude to the teſt. An acquaintance of *Caſca* came up to him and ſaid, *You thought to be very ſecret, but Brutus has acquainted me of the whole affair.* Juſt as *Caſca* was going to make a reply which would have diſcovered all, the other added: *What then, my Friend, are you on a ſudden grown rich enough to ſtand for the Edileſhip!* *Caſca* ſhuddered at the danger he had eſcaped. *M. Brutus* himſelf had a moſt violent ſhock: Word was brought him that his dearly beloved *Porcia* was at the point of death: For, as the moment of her huſband's hazardous enterpriſe drew near, ſhe was ſeized with a deadly panic. *Brutus*, however, ſhewed himſelf a true deſcendant of that hero who ſacrificed his own children to the liberty of his country, and the ſame ſpirit over-ruled now in him every other affection. In fine, *Cæſar* arrives; and, as he came out of his litter, *Popilius Lænas*, a Senator, made up to him and talked with him with much earneſtneſs, and the Dictator ſeemed to give much attention to what he delivered. This *Popilius*, a little time before, had been with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and ſaid to them, *I wiſh your deſign may ſucceed, and I adviſe you not to defer it; for there are ſeveral private accounts of it.* The Conſpirators did not doubt, therefore, but that they were diſcovered and betrayed. An univerſal conſternation

ſternation reigned among our intrepid aſſaſſins; they looked at each other, and agreed by ſigns not to wait till they were ſeized, but to ſtab themſelves in order to avoid the ignominy of a public execution; and already *Caſſius* and ſome others had laid their hands to their poniards; when *Brutus*, obſerving that the geſture and attitude of *Popilius* was rather that of a ſupplicant than an accuſer, perceived his error, and, by the ſerenity of his countenance, made the others underſtand that they had nothing to fear. At length *Popilius* kiſſed the Dictator's hand and with drew. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Cæſar went forward, and a number of the Conſpirators ſurrounded and conducted him to the Curule chair: Whilſt two of them, *Decimus* and *Trebonius*, ſtopped *Antony* at the door of the Senate-houſe. As ſoon as he had taken his place, *Tillius Cimber*, who was to begin the attack upon his perſon, advanced nearer than the reſt, as if he had ſome favour to requeſt of him; and, laying hold of his gown, drew it over his ſhoulders, which was the ſign agreed upon. *This*, ſaid *Cæſar*, *is plain violence:* And he had ſcarcely pronounced theſe words, when he was wounded a little below the throat by one of the *Caſca's*. He ſeized the aſſaſſin's arm and ran it through with his *ſtyle* for writing; and, endeavouring to ruſh forward, was ſtopped by another wound, which was afterwards judged to be the only mortal one he received. Finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides with drawn daggers at him, he wrapped up his head in his toga, and ſpread Plut. in Cæſ.

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it alſo before over his legs, that he might fall the more decently; and ſo received three and twenty wounds, fetching a groan only on receiving the firſt, without uttering ſo much as one word [n].

Thus fell *Cæſar*, in the *56th* year of his age: A man, who, conſidered as a Stateſman and a Captain, may juſtly challenge the firſt place in the regiſters of mankind. He was formed to excel in peace as well as in war; was provident in council, fearleſs in action, and executed what he had once reſolved on with an amazing celerity. With the greateſt nobleneſs of birth, of perſon, and of countenance [o], he joined every great quality that can exalt human nature, and give a man the aſcendant in ſociety. He was

[n] *Plutarch* ſays, that upon receiving the firſt wound, he turned upon *Caſca* in a fury, ſaying, *Wretch, what are your deſigns?* And that, notwithſtanding his loſs of blood, and the many daggers pointed at him, he raged amongſt them like a lion: But, when *M. Brutus* came upon him, he ſaid in *Greek: What, art thou one of them too, thou,* MY SON BRUTUS.

[o] He is ſaid to have been tall, of a fair complexion, round-limbed, pretty full-faced, with eyes black and lively; and very healthful, except, that, towards the end of his life, he was ſubject to ſudden ſwoonings, and to be frightened in his ſleep. He was alſo ſurpriſed twice with the falling ſickneſs in the midſt of buſineſs. In the care of his perſon, he was ſo very nice, that he had not only the hair of his head cut, but likewiſe had the hair in the other parts of his body taken up by the roots; and he is alſo ſaid to have been very particular in his dreſs; for he uſed the *latus clavus* with fringes about his hands, and looſely girded about him with an effeminate air. *Suet.* 45. *See alſo Vol. III. p.* 301.

open

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open, ſincere, great and magnanimous in all his behaviour; faithful to his friends, and zealous to promote their intereſts [p]; generous and liberal even to profuſion to his dependents; and was diſtinguiſhed for the moſt ſingular humanity and clemency in the midſt of the greateſt provocations and examples of cruelty and revenge. [q] He was magnificent, polite, and, in reſpect of natural endowments, learning, and eloquence, ſcarce inferior to any man [r]. He was a moſt

[p] *Suetonius*, 71, 72, gives us the following inſtances of his attachment and zeal for his friends and clients.—When he was but a young man, he defended the cauſe of *Maſintha*, a noble youth, againſt King *Hiempſal*, with ſo much keenneſs, that in the courſe of the pleading he ſeized *Juba*, the King's ſon, by the beard; and, upon his client's being declared tributary to *Hiempſal*, he immediately took him by force from thoſe who were leading him away, and kept him concealed in his houſe for a long time; and, when he went, at the expiration of his prætorſhip, for *Spain*, he carried him off with him in his litter, amidſt the confuſion produced by thoſe who were taking leave of him. When he came to have the whole power of the Commonwealth in his hands, he advanced ſome of his friends, though of very mean extraction, to the higheſt poſts in the government; and, when he was reflected upon for it, openly declared, *that, had he been aſſiſted by robbers and cut-throats, in the defence of his honour, he would have made them the ſame requital.*

[q] He could not find it in his heart to do any harm to *Cornelius Phagita*, who had trepanned him in the night, with a deſign to carry him to *Sylla*; and out of whoſe hands he did not eſcape, without much difficulty, and a great bribe. *Philemon*, his Secretary, who had promiſed his enemies to poiſon him, he cauſed to be put to death, but without torture. *Suet.* 74.

[r] His orations were admired for two qualities, which are ſeldom found together, *ſtrength* and *elegance*. *Cicero* ranks

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munificent patron of wit and learning, whereſoever he found them; and, from his love for thoſe talents, would eaſily pardon ſuch as had employed them againſt him [s]. In all the military

ranks him among the greateſt orators that *Rome* ever bred; and *Quintilian*, X. 1, ſays, *that he ſpoke with the ſame force with which he fought; and, if he had devoted himſelf to the bar, would have been the only man capable of rivalling Cicero.* ——His Commentaries, in *Cicero*'s judgment, are *plain, neat,* and *beautiful*; and he adds, *in thus preparing his materials for ſuch as ſhould write his hiſtory, he may perhaps have encouraged ſome inferior geniuſes to undertake it, who might think to ornament it more; but has diſcouraged all men of ſenſe from meddling with it.* Nor was he maſter only of the politer arts, but converſant alſo with the moſt abſtruſe and critical parts of learning; and, among other books which he publiſhed, he addreſſed two books to *Cicero, On the analogy of language*, or the art of ſpeaking and writing correctly. *Philoſophy* alſo, and *poetry* ſometimes employed his leiſure; and *Suetonius* mentions a poem of his, called *Iter*, or, *the Journey*, which he wrote on his way to the *Spaniſh* war.

[s] Though *C. Memmius* had publiſhed ſome very abuſive ſpeeches againſt him, and he had anſwered them with equal ſharpneſs, yet he afterwards aſſiſted him with his vote and intereſt, when he ſtood for the conſulſhip. When *C. Calvus*, who had written ſome ſcandalous epigrams upon him, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation by the interceſſion of friends, *he wrote the firſt letter*; and when *Catullus*, for a like offence, came to beg his pardon, *he invited him to ſupper*. He alſo bore, with great moderation, a libel of *Aulus Cæcina* againſt him. This man, whoſe genius and eloquence are much extolled, was ſtill in exile in the year 707; and, to make amends for the invective he publiſhed againſt *Cæſar*, he employed himſelf in drawing up a work in which he mentioned him with honour; and, while his friends were earneſtly ſoliciting his pardon, he ſent to *Cicero* his performance, begging him to intereſt himſelf particularly in his cauſe. (*Ad Fam.* vi. 7. *Melm.* ix. 30.) "Your "judi-

tary qualifications he had no ſuperior; and no General ever acquired to ſuch a degree the eſteem and

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"judicious obſervation, ſays he, has enabled you to pene-
"trate into the receſſes of *Cæſar*'s heart; and you are
"acquainted with all the moſt probable methods of prevail-
"ing with him: So that each ſucceſsful ſtep that ſhall be
"made in this affair, from its commencement to its concluſi-
"on, muſt proceed altogether from you. I am ſenſible like-
"wiſe that you have great intereſt with *Cæſar*, and ſtill
"greater with all his favourites. I doubt not then of your
"effecting my reſtoration, if you will exert yourſelf for that
"purpoſe.—With regard to the book my ſon will deliver to
"you, I intreat you either not to ſuffer it to be publiſhed, or
"to correct it in ſuch a manner, that it may not appear to
"my diſadvantage." *Cicero*'s anſwer is much to *Cæſar*'s honour. (*Ad Fam.* vi. 5. *Melm.* ix. 32.) —— "I have
"read your performance, and ſtill continue to read it, with
"much attention; as I ſhall preſerve it with the greateſt ſide-
"lity. Your affairs, indeed, of every kind, are my principal
"concern; and I have the pleaſure to ſee them every day
"appear with a more and more favourable aſpect. You
"have many friends, who contribute their good offices for
"this purpoſe; of whoſe zeal your ſon, I am perſuaded, has
"already acquainted you, as well as of his own hopes, that
"their endeavours will prove effectual. In regard to what
"may be collected from appearances, I do not pretend to
"diſcern more than, I am perſuaded, you ſee yourſelf:
"But, as you may reflect upon them, perhaps, with
"greater diſcompoſure of mind, I think it proper to give
"you my ſentiments concerning them. Believe me then,
"it is impoſſible, from the nature and circumſtances of pub-
"lic affairs, that either you, or your companions in adver-
"ſity, ſhould long remain under your preſent misfortunes:
"Yes, my friend, it is impoſſible that ſo ſevere an injury
"ſhould continue to oppreſs the honeſt advocates of ſo good
"a cauſe. But my hopes are particularly ſtrong with re-
"ſpect to yourſelf: Not merely in conſideration of your
"rank and virtues, (for theſe you poſſeſs in common with
"many others) *but particularly from your ſingular learning*

and

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and affection of his ſoldiers. In riding, in throwing the javelin, and in every exerciſe, he poſſeſſed a ſingular dexterity; and he was able to endure fatigue beyond all credibility. He uſed to march commonly at the head of his troops, bareheaded, both in foul and fair weather; and to ſwim over the rivers which obſtructed his way. In his expeditions he was daring, but cautious; and never marched an army without uſing every poſſible precautions againſt ſurpriſes. He was never diſcouraged from any enterpriſe, nor retarded in the proſecution of it, by ill omens: He engaged in battle, not only after previous deliberation, but often on a ſudden, when opportunities offered, after a march, or in ſtormy weather, when nobody could imagine he would move: And on all occaſions he behaved with the greateſt intrepidity and reſolution; inſomuch, that the ſerenity of his countenance was, often, in the moſt imminent dangers, the chief ſupport of the courage of his troops. Juſt and impartial to his officers and ſoldiers, he treated them with an equal ſeverity and indulgence; when the enemy was near, exacting the ſtricteſt diſcipline; but, on other occaſions, excuſing them from all duty,

"*and genius. The man, in whoſe power we all of us are, "holds theſe ſhining qualities in much eſteem: And, I am well "aſſured, you would not have remained even a ſingle moment in "your preſent ſituation, if he had not imagined himſelf wounded "by thoſe talents he admires.* His reſentment, however, "ſeems daily cooling; and it has been intimated to me, by "ſome of his moſt particular friends, that you will undoubt-"edly find advantage in the high opinion he has conceived "of your abilities."

and

and leaving them to revel at pleaſure. His ſoldiers, he uſed to boaſt, did not fight the worſe for being perfumed. In his ſpeeches to them, he called them always *Comrades*; and he ornamented their arms with gold and ſilver, that they might make the finer appearance, and be the more tenacious of them in battle. He loved them to that degree, that, when he heard of the diſaſter of his troops under *Titurius Sabinus*, he neither cut his hair nor ſhaved his beard, till he had revenged it upon the enemy; by which means he inſpired them with a mutual affection for his perſon, and an invincible bravery. They never mutinied during the whole courſe of the *Gallic* war; and, when they were guilty of it during the *civil* war, we have ſeen how quickly he brought them back to their duty, by his authority. In his civil capacity he was directed by great and extenſive views: The acts of his conſulſhip, which the Ariſtocracy ſo vigorouſly oppoſed, were all wiſe and tending to the public good: And, when he was maſter of the Empire in quality of Perpetual Dictator, he diſcovered in all his undertakings the moſt general benevolence.

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When we contemplate the virtues of this great man, and think of the great deſigns he had formed, it is impoſſible not to regret his death; and when we call to mind, that, of thoſe who were the leaders in the conſpiracy againſt him, ſome had been indebted to him for their lives, and others had been loaded by him with honours; we cannot but charge them with the baſeſt ingratitude for having killed their benefactor. But

Cicero

A. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Cicero was of a different opinion: He ſaid, "*That the public was the more indebted to them on* "*theſe accounts; and that, as to the kindneſs of* "*giving them their lives, it was the kindneſs only* "*of a robber, who had firſt done them the greater* "*wrong: That, if there had been any ſtain of in-* "*gratitude in the act, they could never have ac-* "*quired ſo much glory by it; and though he won-* "*dered indeed at ſome of them for doing it, rather* "*than ever imagined, that they would have done* "*it; yet he admired them ſo much the more, for* "*being regardleſs of favours, that they might ſhew* "*their regard to their country.*" And he tells his friend *Atticus*, "that he was preſent at the "death of *Cæſar* in the *Senate*; *where he had the* "*pleaſure to ſee the tyrant periſh as he deſerved.*"

Middl. p. 240.

Ad Att. xiv. 14.

Theſe ſentiments have been well combated by a judicious author; and I cannot do better than tranſcribe what he has ſaid upon the occaſion:

"Who can ſee *Cæſar* fall with this *Ciceronian* "ſtain upon him? Had this expreſſion come "from the mouth of a malignant *Caſſius*, little "had it ſurpriſed us; but from the mild mora- "lity of a *Cicero*, that *Cicero* too, who, when un- "der his protection, had looked on him in ſo "different a view; when, not only his eloquence, "but his excellent poetry had been inſpired with "the praiſes of this very *tyrant* whom now he "vilifies and depreciates. In this light, I ſay, "it calls for farther expoſtulation. Whence "then theſe jarring ſentiments? Was *Cicero* "or *Cæſar* altered, that the one could give, or "the

Cibber, p. 219.

" the other merit, ſuch different terms of praiſe " or cenſure? *Could that Cæſar deſerve to periſh as* " *a tyrant*, whom *Cicero* had allowed to have ta- " ken up arms *with no other view than to defend* " *himſelf from injuries?* or could ſuch an inſult " from *Cicero* be due to the aſhes of a man, whoſe " clemency he had ſo lately taſted, and ſo grate- " fully had celebrated? If *Cicero* then was a flat- " terer when he offered theſe praiſes to *Cæſar*, " why are we not equally to diſbelieve him, when " he blackens or loads him with invectives? " *Cæſar*, with all his imputed tyranny, is, in e- " very part but power, ſo unlike the hideous " wretch we call a tyrant, that the name finds no " reception among the viſible virtues it here in- " juriouſly breaks in upon. Every act and mo- " tion of him ſo rejects the infamy, that he ſeems " *a Genius rather formed to lead a ruined people* " *into happineſs, than to drive them into ſlavery.*

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" Were we to look upon *Cæſar* as a fierce " uſurper, who, with an unwarning violence, had " ſeized upon the public liberty, and had torn " to pieces the happineſs and quiet of a well-ſet- " tled government, then, indeed, might the *plea-* " *ſure Cicero* conceived in ſeeing him periſh be " allowed to flow from the laudable paſſion of a " *Patriot*. But, as hiſtory has not ſet *Cæſar* in " quite ſo deteſtable a light, nor yet the injured " liberty of *Rome* in ſo clear a one, why may we " not look with a complaining eye upon this " Patriot *pleaſure* of *Cicero?*——

" Was *Cæſar* an enemy to his country, be- " cauſe he was Dictator; and, upon the ground of his

Cibber, p. 222.

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" his ambition, ſhall we juſtify the Conſpirators,
" and pronounce that he deſerved the fate which
" befel him? His ambition might have gone be-
" yond the ambition of others, who were viſible
" candidates for the tyranny complained of; yet
" the public, at leaſt, were, or might have been,
" gainers in their preference of ſo meritorious a
" maſter, who, though his *will* gave laws to the
" *Roman* world, yet his laws were no reproach to
" his *will*. Nor could even the Conſpirators ſay
" they would have governed better than *Cæſar*
" did, when, out of themſelves, he had choſen the
" principal magiſtrates. What then did *Cæſar*
" take from them that was ſo dear to them, un-
" leſs it were *the liberty of ſo frequently breaking*
" *thoſe wholſome laws which their wiſer anceſtors*
" *had made for their ſecurity? All the real hard-*
" *ſhips they ſuffered from him was the loſs of that*
" *little care they took to ſee them obeyed*; and could
" the redreſs of this grievance be a new grie-
" vance? When particular men grew too big for
" the *old* laws, was it not rather a remedy than a
" diſeaſe, that *Cæſar*, by giving *new laws*, grew
" too ſtrong for the ſtouteſt of theſe Republican
" tyrants? If their own adminiſtration could
" have kept them within bounds, they had
" not wanted a *Cæſar* to repair the fences they
" had broke through: In this then *Cæſar* leſs
" deſerved to be called the wolf than the ſhep-
" herd.

Gibber, p. 244.

" *The crime complained of in Cæſar is not of the*
" *ſame kind of treaſon as that of a ſubject, who*
" *ſeizes on the throne of his lawful Prince, and then*

" *ſteps*

" *ſteps into it himſelf. No, Cæſar*" [ſuppoſing him an *uſurper* for having accepted, from the Senate and people, of the dictatorſhip] " *uſurped* " *only upon uſurpers, upon a corrupted government,* " *under which the Roman liberty had long groaned,* " *even before the Triumvirate had inſulted it*; for, " in the diffuſed tyranny of many, *Cæſar*, at worſt, " made but one in ſcarce leſs than a hundred; " and, when thoſe licentious rulers were reduced " to three, (of which it is true *Cæſar*, in his " own defence, ſtill thought fit to make *one*, and " found at laſt he had no other way to be intire- " ly ſafe, than by being the *only one*) *he had juſt* " *as good a right to take the reins of government* " *from the other two, as the united three had to* " *take them from hundreds.*——

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" But, alas! to the lawleſs and the tumultu- " ous, ſo dear had been the headſtrong liberty of " confounding, ſo ſweet were the acquiſitions of " party violence and prevalent corruption, that " the dull dreaming peace and ſurfeiting plenty, " which *Cæſar* had reſtored to them (becauſe " *Cæſar*, it ſeems, had no *right* to beſtow them) " were to paſs rather for injuries than bleſſings, " and equally deſerving an exemplary revenge " or puniſhment. Admitting now we were to " receive all this as undeniable reaſon, and that " *Cæſar*, with all his benefits and great qualities, " was ſtill a grievance, becauſe he was thought, " or called ſo; *yet, where ſhall we find thoſe honeſt,* " *injured Romans*, who had this abſolute and un- " queſtionable right to complain that he had ei- " ther offered violence to their virtue or their in-

Cibber, p. 223.

nocence?

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" nocence? *Was it the uncorrupted magiſtrates, the*
" *Senate, or the people, or the collective body of them*
" *all*, that inſpired theſe Patriot conſpirators to
" revenge the general injury? It could not, ſure,
" be *the legal government*; that had long, long
" before, been torn to pieces by a ſucceſſion of
" civil broils and factions, of which the uſurpa-
" tions of *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, and
" a train of ſuch pious menders of the ſtate,
" had been too flagrant inſtances.—Had he *in-*
" *jured the people?* Neither; he had aſſerted and
" recovered their rights, and had charmed them
" with his magnanimity, for which they loved,
" and therefore more willingly obeyed him.—But
" might not theſe ſervices be purely political?
" Were they not all outſide; with no other view
" in his heart, than firſt to make fools, and then
" ſlaves of them? But why this inſinuation? why
" this preſumptuous imputation upon a juſt acti-
" on? or why ſo hard a reſtraint upon virtue,
" that ſhe is never to act when any incidental
" benefit to the agent, beyond the merit of the
" deed, may be joined to it? Muſt the public
" too be ſufferers, becauſe a private account may
Cibber, p. 224. " be found in relieving them? This may be an
" argument with thoſe who will ſuffer none to
" do good to the public but themſelves, and
" that in their own way too. But the laws of
" virtue are more favourable; they tolerate all
" actions of public ſpirit, nor ſuffer them to be
" diſcountenanced, though ſure that ſuch an im-
" putation were to lie upon the duty or the me-
" rit of them. *Hard were the fate of Cæſar, if*
" *ſug-*

" *ſuggeſtions might invalidate his virtue! No, ſug-* Y. R. 709.
" *geſtions ſhall not ſo much as caſt a ſhade over the* Bef. Chr. 43.
" *Conſpirators; their private paſſions, their blind* 408 Conſ.
" *revenge, their ingratitude and their envy, need not*
" *the weak aſſiſtance of inſinuated guilt to piece and*
" *patch out a complaint againſt them.* The caſe of
" *Cæſar* and of his aſſaſſins can never be decided,
" if any evidence leſs than fact is admitted on ei-
" ther ſide.—Let us hear, then, *what the Senate*
" *has to complain of.* What, all ſilent! Has *Cæſar*
" made it up with *them* too? Is he to be acquit-
" ted by a *volenti non fit injuria?* Have they with
" *open eyes* compounded with his tyranny, and
" made the empire of the world *his purchaſe?*
" This indeed were a moſt enormous corrupti-
" on! Sure they could not but impeach him for it!
" No, they rather choſe to load him with honours
" and unlimited power, found their liberties ſafer
" in his lap than in their own unruly hands, ſty-
" led him *Imperator*, with the higher diſtinctio-
" on of *Father of his Country.* Such was *their*
" reſentment, ſuch their grievances, and ſuch
" their remedy. Was then this mighty work of
" their own hands, this monument of power,
" erected only to teſtify and commemorate, or to
" redreſs and heal their calamities? *For healed*
" *they certainly were, till, from the freſh wounds of*
" *Cæſar, broke forth a worſe calamity, a fatal civil*
" *war, that never ended till Roman Liberty was no*
" *more.* Where then ſhall we find theſe yet un-
" diſcovered ſufferings from *Cæſar, unleſs in the*
" *dark, vindictive boſoms of the Conſpirators?* There,
" indeed, we ought to ſuppoſe them more grie-

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"vouſly tyrannical, becauſe ſo dreadful, ſo "vaunted, a vengeance reſented them. And "yet it has never been known, that their particu-"lar complaints were diſtinguiſhed by any great-"er hardſhip than what was offered in common "to the reſt of the quieted *Roman* people.

"Were we to give up all that is aſked of us, "that *Cæſar*, to the eyes of *Brutus* and his aſſo-"ciates, appeared a tyrant; even in that view Cibber, p. 231. "can we juſtify the aſſaſſins? Have laws, either "divine or human, ordained *aſſaſſination* to be "the puniſhment of any crime whatſoever? Were "the Conſpirators to be at once the judges and "the executioners? Nor do we find that any "public act had deputed them to be the public "avengers: The greateſt of them were but *ſelf-*"*commiſſioned*, and in that, at beſt, but *a ſort of* "*ſecret uſurpers of the public authority.*

Id. p. 226. "And yet ſo farther unfortunate is their cauſe, "*that of all people theſe were leſs qualified for ſo* "*high an office than (from the higheſt to the loweſt)* "*were the moſt offended Romans.* For, though "obligations and favours ſo lately accepted from "him could not make them *grateful*, they might, "at leaſt, have made them *merciful* to *Cæſar*. "But, alas! ſo it was, the provinces he had aſ-"ſigned to ſome, and the greateſt poſts of dig-"nity to others, had availed him nothing. *The* "*arrogant preſumption of being generous, juſt,* "*and gentle to his foes and fellow-citizens, was,* "*to their jealous honour, ſuch a ſtinging provocati-*"*on, ſuch a triumph of ſmiling pride and inſolence,* "*as could never be forgiven or got over, but by the*

deter-

" *determined death of the diſtributor. What a* Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.
" *Tyrant! What Patriots! Were not his enough*
" *to make our judgmentt ſicken when ſo bold,*
" *ſo weak, ſo wicked a cauſe is before us?* But
" let us not too haſtily give ſentence. Per-
" haps, the warmer advocates for liberty, the Pa-
" triot abhorrers of *Cæſar*, may think it a narrow-
" neſs of mind in us to ſuppoſe his plauſible acts of
" benevolence and bounty ought to have excited a
" ſenſe of gratitude in the *uncorrupted* ſpirit of a
" *Roman*; and that it is more a call for our admi-
" ration, than our reproach, that theſe valiant
" champions of the public rather choſe to plunge
" their daggers in his heart, in ſcorn of his obli-
" gations, than to be meanly merciful at the price
" of their honour. And yet, methinks, *the heroic*
" *ſpirit of theſe Patriots had not been leſs brave or no-*
" *ble, had it previouſly refuſed theſe bribes of Cæſar*;
" *the ſcorn ſhould have preceded the acceptance, but*
" *the pride was debaſed that came after it.* Then,
" too, with a better grace, they might have
" their daggers, not upon their acknowledged
" benefactor, but their enemy avowed.

" But however, though we cannot eaſily get Cibber, p. 227.
" over this weakneſs of thinking them *ungrateful*,
" yet if we are ſtill ſo juſt as to allow this ani-
" mated enterpriſe, or this glorious vengeance,
" (if we muſt call it ſo) the utmoſt merit it can
" lay claim to, if we conſciouſly confeſs (for
" ſure they can aſk no more of us) *that to ſacrifice*
" *our private intereſts to the public good is the high-*
" *eſt merit that human virtue can aſpire to.* Yet let

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" *the public good* (the declared motive of the Con-
" ſpirators) *be at leaſt as viſible to us as the ſacri-*
" *ficed intereſt*; let us be ſure we are within ſight
" of the one, and not blinded by the other: Firſt,
" let us be morally convinced that the *death of*
" *Cæſar could be the cure* of all the public com-
" plaints; that it was as infallible, as it was
" the only one to which the redreſs of this in-
" jured liberty was limited: For, if the Repub-
" lic was in no wiſe relieved by it, how unſkil-
" ful or how inhuman muſt have been the ap-
" plication of ſo violent a remedy? *What then*
" *ſhall we call it but a more deſperate act of ty-*
" *ranny than ever Cæſar, in all his courſe of ambi-*
" *tion, committed?*

Cibber p. 231.

" *If, indeed,* BRUTUS *could have eradicated or*
" *ſubdued the whole* ROMAN *ambition, or have turn-*
" *ed faction into virtue,* then, perhaps, liberty
" might have aroſe from this particular ſacrifice;
" but, from ſo unprofitable an expedient *to expect*
" *the cure of a national contagion, by putting only one*
" *infected perſon to death; how wild! how vain!*
" *how inviſible the hope!* And, though we ought
" not to judge of attempts by their ſucceſs or
" failure, yet, when the hope of ſucceſs has ſo
" ill a foundation, what but an imaginary caſtle
" could be built upon it? Nay, the very people,
" whoſe cauſe theſe Conſpirators pretended to
" aſſert, choſe rather, by their compaſſionate
" clamours for vengeance on the murderers of
" *Cæſar*, to ſuſpend their liberty, than to enjoy it
" by a baſe and cruel connivance at their eſcape.
" Strong, very ſtrong, muſt have been the Re-
" pub-

" publican grievances, when they rather choſe to Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. Conſ.
" be ſettled ſlaves their own way, than to feel,
" (as they had done) in ſo many violent magiſ-
" trates, ſo many galling, griping, grinding
" maſters. A provocation which, in later go-
" vernments, has ſhewn us, that revenge may
" be ſometimes ſweeter than liberty.

" To proceed then, let it be clear to us *that*
" *under the cauſe of Liberty were concealed no pri-*
" *vate paſſions, no ſtimulating pride, no lurking envy,*
" *that moulded this conſpiracy to the dreadful form*
" *it came out in:* For, as hiſtory ſet a mark of
" more than ſuſpicion on their principal, as *Caſ-*
" *ſius* was more known to have hated the perſon
" than the tyranny of *Cæſar*, it will add but very
" little to the honour of their cauſe to ſay his
" accomplices were *impoſed* upon, or that the
" artful management of this turbulent ſpirit had
" made it a darling point of glory to break
" through their bonds, both of private and of
" public gratitude, in clearing their way to the
" heart of *Cæſar*. However pompous the pre-
" tence might be, it will be hard to prove, that
" it had either conſcience, honour, or the moſt
" diſtant hope of honeſt, luſty Liberty to build
" upon.

" But now we are to ſtand a ſtronger oppoſi- Cibber, p. 229.
" tion; the honour and integrity of a *Brutus*
" now riſes to diſarm our mercy for *Cæſar*, and
" to vindicate his death. *If Brutus thought no*
" *ties, not even the love that Cæſar bore him, were*
" *of equal value to the cauſe of Liberty; if Brutus*
" *choſe to make his friend and benefactor fall a*

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"*victim to the public juſtice; if ſuch a man of ſo* "*immaculate a character was of this Patriot-party,* "*ſhall not the ſanction of ſo great a name hang im-* "*mortal praiſes on their memory?*

"Such, indeed, have been the encomiums "which the learned have ſometimes heaped up- "on him, and which even the friends of *Cæſar* "have not totally refuſed him."—But, how far we are to be led by the authority of *Brutus*, how far he deſerves theſe high encomiums, the following hiſtory will ſhew. Hitherto he has certainly made no figure as a man of honour and virtue.

CHAP. XII.

The general conſternation of the Senate, Conſul, and People, upon the death of Cæſar. *The treaty between* Antony *and the Conſpirators.* Antony's *artful management. The Conſpirators are obliged to leave* Rome. Antony *gathers an army about him, and diſpoſes of every thing according to his pleaſure.* Sextus Pompey *makes his peace by the mediation of* Lepidus, *and is declared Admiral of the Republic.* Octavius *appears upon the ſtage, is thwarted by* Antony *in every thing, raiſes an army to make good his claim, courts the Senate and* Antony's *enemies, whom he protects.* Antony *ſets out from* Rome *to take poſſeſſion of* Ciſalpine Gaul, *and beſieges* D. Brutus *in* Mutina. *He is followed by young* Octavius, *who, at* Cicero's *motion, is authoriſed by the Senate to raiſe troops, and make war againſt* Antony.

THE Conſpirators had no ſooner finiſhed their work, than *Brutus*, lifting up his bloody dagger, congratulated the Senate, and *Cicero* [t] in particular, on the recovery of their liber- Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ. Middl. p. 244.

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[t] *Middl.* p. 244. "This gave *Antony* a pretence to charge "him afterwards in public with *being privy to the conſpiracy, "and the principal adviſer of it:* But it is certain that he was "not at all acquainted with it: For, though he had the ſtrict- "eſt friendſhip with the chief actors, and they the greateſt "confidence in him, yet his age, character, and dignity ren- "dered him wholly unfit to bear a part in an attempt of "that nature; and to embark himſelf in an affair ſo de- "ſperate, with a number of men, who, excepting a few of "their Leaders, were all either too young to be truſted, or too "obſcure even to be known by him. He could have been of "little or no ſervice to them in the execution of the act, yet "of much greater in juſtifying it afterwards to the city, for "having had no ſhare in it, nor any perſonal intereſt to make "his authority ſuſpected. *Theſe were the true reaſons, with- "out doubt, why Brutus and Caſſius did not impart the deſign to "him.* Had it been from any other motive, as ſome writers "have ſuggeſted; or had it admitted any interpretation in- "jurious to his honour; he muſt have been often reproached "with it by *Antony* and his other adverſaries of thoſe "times, who were ſo ſtudious to invent and propagate every "calumny that could depreſs his credit." [Surely *Cicero* was known for a coward, and *Plutarch* is in the right to ſay this was a good reaſon not to make him privy to the deſign.] "I cannot, however, entirely acquit him of being in ſome "degree acceſſary to the death of *Cæſar*; for it is evident, "from ſeveral of his letters, that he had an expectation of "ſuch an attempt, and from what quarter it would come; "and not only expected, but wiſhed it: He propheſied ve- "ry early, *that Cæſar's reign could not laſt ſix months, but "muſt neceſſarily fall, either by violence or of itſelf; and hoped "to live to ſee it.*" Ad Att. x. 8. "He knew the diſaffection "of the greateſt and beſt of the city: Which they expreſſed "with

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liberty, and eſſayed to make a ſpeech to them upon the occaſion; but the Senators, ſeized with aſtoniſhment at ſo daring an attempt, after they had been mute ſpectators of the deed, ruſhed out of the Senate-houſe, and *Cicero* with them; as if they were all afraid of the ſame fate. *Antony*, who had indeed ſome reaſon to be apprehenſive, took refuge in a neighbouring houſe;

Phil. ii. 12.

" with great freedom in their letters, and with much more we " may imagine in their private converſation: He knew the " fierce and haughty ſpirit of *Brutus* and *Coſſius*, and their im- " patience of a maſter; and cultivated a ſtrict correſpon- " dence with them both at this time, as if for the opportu- " nity of exciting them to ſome act of vigour. On the news " that *Atticus* ſent him, of *Cæſar*'s image being placed in " the temple of *Quirinus*, adjoining to that of the goddeſs " *Salus*, *I had rather*, ſays he, *have him the comrade of Ro-* " *mulus, than of the goddeſs of Safety*, ad Att. xii. 15: refer- " ring to *Romulus*'s fate of being killed by the Senators. In " another letter (*ad Att.* xiii. 40.) it ſeems to be intimated, " that *Atticus* and he had been contriving, or talking at leaſt " together, how *Brutus* might be ſpirited up to ſome at- " tempt of that kind, by ſetting before him the fame and glo- " ry of his anceſtors: *Does Brutus then tell us*, ſays he, *that* " *Cæſar brings with him glad tidings to honeſt men? Where* " *will he find them, unleſs he hangs himſelf? But how ſecure-* " *ly is he now intrenched on all ſides? What uſe then of your* " *fine invention; the picture of old Brutus and Ahala, with the* " *verſes under, which I ſaw in your gallery? Yet what, after* " *all, can he do?* One cannot help obſerving, likewiſe, in his " pieces addreſſed about this time to *Brutus*, how artfully he " falls into a lamentation of the times, and of the particular " unhappineſs of *Brutus* himſelf in being deprived by them " of all the hopes and uſe of his great talents; putting him in " mind at the ſame time of his *double deſcent* from anceſtors " who had acquired immortal glory by delivering *Rome* from " ſervitude." See the concluſion of his treatiſe *on famous* " *Orators.*

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and, throwing off all the marks of his conſular dignity, ſtole away to his own, where he ſtrongly barricaded himſelf. The Conſpirators, diſappointed by the timid behaviour of the Senators, addreſſed themſelves to the People, and, marching out in a body, with *a cap*, the ſign of liberty, *carried before them on a ſpear*, proceeded in a calm and orderly manner through the Forum, where, in the firſt heat of joy, ſeveral of the young nobility, who had borne no part in the conſpiracy, joined themſelves to the company with ſwords in their hands, out of an ambition to be thought partners in the act; but they afterwards paid dear for that vanity, and were involved in the ruin it drew upon all the reſt. *Brutus* deſigned to have ſpoken to the people from the *Roſtra*; but, perceiving them to be in too great an agitation to attend to ſpeeches; being uncertain too what turn the popular humour might take, and knowing there were great numbers of *Cæſar*'s old ſoldiers in the city, who had been ſummoned from all parts to attend him to the *Parthian* war; he thought proper, with his accomplices, to take refuge in the *Capitol*, which he ſeized on by the aſſiſtance of *Decimus*'s gladiators, on pretence of returning thanks to *Jupiter*. The dead body of *Cæſar* was left in the Senate-houſe, where, after it had been viewed by thoſe who had the curioſity and courage to venture in, it was put into a litter by three of his ſlaves, and carried to his houſe, one arm dangling out of the window. The Conſpirators, being ſecure in the *Capitol* from any immediate violence, ſummoned the

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Plut. in Cæſ.

Appian, 503. Dio, p. 250. Plut. in Cæſ. et Brut.

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the people thither in the afternoon; and *Brutus*, in a ſpeech to them which he had before prepared, juſtified his conduct, explained the motives of it, and, in a pathetic manner, exhorted them to exert themſelves in the defence of their country, and to maintain the liberty now offered to them againſt all the abettors of the late tyranny.

When the Senators ſaw that all was calm, ſeveral of them ventured up to the Capitol in the evening, and *Cicero* among the reſt; who tells us that his advice was, "that *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, "as Prætors, ſhould call the Senate into the Ca- "pitol, and proceed to ſome vigorous decrees "for the ſecurity of the public tranquillity:" But *Brutus* and his accomplices were for proceeding calmly, and with all due reſpect to the authority of the Conſul; and, having conceived hopes of *Antony*, propoſed ſending a deputation to him, to exhort him to meaſures of peace [u]. *Antony*

Ad Att. xiv. 10.

[u] This is looked upon as a falſe ſtep, and *Cicero*, in his ſecond *Philippic*, c. 35, and in his letters to *Atticus*, xiv. 10, ſays he remonſtrated againſt it, nor could be prevailed with to bear a part in it: He ſays, he told them plainly, "that there "could be no ſafe treaty with him; that, as long as he was "afraid of them, he would promiſe every thing; but, when "his fears were over, he would be like himſelf, and perform "nothing: So that, while the other conſular Senators were "going backwards and forwards in this office of mediation, "he ſtuck to his point, and ſtaid with the reſt in the Ca- "pitol, and did not ſee *Antony* for the two firſt days." But it muſt be conſidered, 1. That, were it poſſible to bring things about by peaceable meaſures, that way undoubtedly was the beſt. 2. That *Antony* and *Lepidus* had really more ſtrength in their hands than the Senate, and, if provoked to exert it, might very eaſily deſtroy them all, or force them to fly out of

tony, who had no thoughts of peace, but whoſe buſineſs it was by diſſimulation to gain time, profeſſed a ſincere inclination to it, and ſeemed to have no other deſire than to ſee the Republic ſettled again on its old baſis; and he pretended that he had brought *Lepidus* into the ſame meaſures. *Lepidus* was at this time in the ſuburbs of *Rome* at the head of a legion, ready to depart for the government of *Spain*, which together with a part of *Gaul*, had been aſſigned him by *Cæſar*. In the night, therefore, after *Cæſar*'s death, he brought his troops into the field of *Mars*, and, ſenſible of his ſuperiority, began to think of making himſelf maſter of the city, and taking immediate revenge on the Conſpirators: And *Dio* ſays, that by break of day he harangued the people againſt them. What *Lepidus* propoſed might eaſily have been put in execution, but *Antony* diverted him from that deſign, and managed him agreeably to his own views. His au-

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of the city. 3. That, among the other Senators, *Dolabella*, who claimed the conſulſhip, went up alſo to the Capitol, and there appeared very zealous for a reconciliation. 4. It was not poſſible to foreſee the events that followed, and *Brutus* and his friends had particular reaſons to entertain a better opinion of *Antony*. Dr. *Middleton* tells us, p. 254. "*Cæſar* "had uſed him roughly on ſeveral occaſions, and they knew "his reſentment of it, and that he had been engaged by "*Trebonius*, on *Cæſar*'s laſt return from *Spain*, in a deſign "againſt his life: And, though he did not perform that en- "gagement, yet they thought it an obligation, as well as a "proof of his continuing in the ſame mind that he had not "diſcovered it: Which was the reaſon for their ſparing "him when *Cæſar* was killed, and of *Trebonius*'s taking him "aſide, on pretence of buſineſs, leſt his behaviour on that oc- "caſion might provoke them to kill him too."

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thority and forces he made uſe of to harraſs and terrify the oppoſite party till he had driven the Conſpirators out of the city: And, when he had ſerved his purpoſes with him at home, he contrived to ſend him to his government to keep the provinces and Commanders abroad in due ſubjection to them; and that, by being ſtationed with his army in *Gaul*, he might be ready for any event which ſhould require his help in *Italy*. *Antony*, to render their union the firmer, and at the ſame time to humour his vanity, gave his daughter in marriage to *Lepidus*'s ſon, and aſſiſted him to ſeize the *High-prieſthood*, vacant by *Cæſar*'s death, without regard to the ordinary forms of election.

Middl. p 253.

The next day paſſed in mutual aſſurances from both ſides of their diſpoſition to concord and amity: And *Plutarch* ſays, that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* ventured down into the Forum, and were heard with ſilence and reſpect from the Roſtra: But that *L. Cornelius Cinna*, one of the Prætors, beginning to ſpeak and accuſe *Cæſar*, they broke out into ſuch a ſudden rage that the Conſpirators thought fit to withdraw again into the Capitol: Where *Brutus*, expecting to be beſieged, diſmiſſed the moſt eminent of thoſe who had followed him thither, not thinking it juſt that thoſe, who were not partakers of the deed, ſhould ſhare in the danger.

Plut. in Brut.

Antony ſummoned the Senate on the third day to adjuſt the conditions of the agreement with the Conſpirators, and confirm them by ſome ſolemn act. *Antony*, *Plancus*, and *Cicero* are ſaid to have made ſtudied orations much to the ſatisfaction of the houſe. *Cicero* moved the aſſembly in the

the firſt place, after the example of *Athens*, to decree a general amneſty, or act of oblivion for all that was paſſed, to which they unanimouſly agreed. *Antony* ſeemed to be all goodneſs, talked of nothing but of healing meaſures; and, for a proof of his ſincerity, moved "that the "Conſpirators ſhould be invited to take part in "their deliberations, and ſent his ſon as an "hoſtage for their ſafety:" Upon which they all came down from the Capitol: And *Brutus* ſupped with *Lepidus*; *Caſſius* with *Antony*. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

There were ſeveral things however very artfully propoſed and carried by *Antony* on pretence of public concord, of which he made afterwards a moſt pernicious uſe; particularly a decree *for the confirmation of all Cæſar's acts*; which propoſition was ſupported by all thoſe who either were actually in office, or were named to be magiſtrates of the following years. But this motion was ſuſpected by many, who oppoſed it for ſome time, calling upon *Antony* to explain it, and to ſpecify how far it was to extend: He aſſured them, that no other acts were meant than what were known to every body, and entered publicly on *Cæſar*'s regiſter: They aſked, if any perſons were to be reſtored from exile? He ſaid, only one, and no more: Whether any immunities were granted to cities or countries? He anſwered, none; and conſented that it ſhould paſs with a reſtriction, propoſed by *Servius Sulpicius*, that no grant, which was to take place after the *Ides of March*, ſhould be ratified. This was generally thought ſo reaſonable, and *Antony*'s ſeeming Phil. i. 1.

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candour made ſuch an impreſſion, that thoſe who ſaw the miſchief of it durſt not venture to oppoſe it: Eſpecially, as there was a precedent for it in the caſe of *Sylla*; and as it was ſuppoſed to relate chiefly to the veteran ſoldiers, whom it was not poſſible to oblige, or keep in good humour, without confirming the privileges and poſſeſſions which *Cæſar* had granted to them. In favour of the Conſpirators, it was added, *that this was enacted for the ſake of the public tranquillity.* In fine, it was reſolved that *Cæſar*'s funeral ſhould be ſolemnized at the public expence. All this had been agreed to before by *Brutus*: Tho' *Caſſius* had oppoſed the laſt article, and *Atticus* had warned his friends of the dangerous conſequences of it, maintaining that all was loſt, if the tyrant received thoſe honours. *Dolabella*, whom *Cæſar*, upon his intended expedition to *Parthia*, had deſigned and nominated to the conſulſhip, now ſeized the enſigns of that office; and, tho' *Antony* had proteſted againſt that deſignation, and reſolved to obſtruct its effect, he now quietly received him, and acknowledged him as his collegue.

Ad Att. xiv. 10. & xiv.

App. B. Civ. l. iii.

The day following *Antony* received the thanks of the Senate for his prudent and peaceable behaviour; and ſome hiſtorians tell us, that the greateſt provinces of the Empire were decreed to the Conſpirators; to *Brutus*, *Macedonia*; to *Caſſius*, *Syria*; to *Trebonius*, *Aſia*; to *Tullius Cimber*, *Bithynia*; and that *D. Brutus* was confirmed in the government of *Ciſalpine Gaul.* This would have been putting into the hands of the Conſpirators

rators the chief forces of the Empire; and, if ſo, it is hard to imagine that *Antony* had at this time any view of raiſing a civil war. But *Syria* and *Macedonia* were not decreed to *Caſſius* and *Brutus* till *Antony* was declared a public enemy. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

This calm was but of ſhort duration; for, *Cæſar*'s will being opened at the houſe of *Antony*, it was found that *Cæſar* made his ſiſter's grand-children his heirs; young *Octavius* for the three quarters of his eſtate, and *Q. Pedius*, with *L. Pinarius*, for the remaining quarter. In the concluſion he adopted *Octavius*. Several of the Conſpirators were named tutors to his ſon, in caſe he had one; and, in failure of his firſt heirs, *D. Brutus* was named to the ſucceſſion of his eſtate. He bequeathed his gardens near the *Tiber* to the public, and three hundred ſeſterces to every *Roman* citizen; which greatly contributed to awaken the people's affection towards him. They declared, that a man ſo generous, and who had given ſuch proofs of his tenderneſs to his fellow-citizens, could not be a tyrant; and the favourable ſentiments they entertained of him manifeſted themſelves ſoon after at his funeral.

A little temple, all glittering with gold, was built in the form of that dedicated to *Venus the Mother*, before the Roſtra; and in this temple his body was placed, on an ivory bed, covered with a gold and purple cloth. At his head roſe a trophy, upon which hung the robe in which he was killed. At the ſame time, in the *Campus Martius*, near the ſepulchre of *Julia*, was raiſed a pile for the burning of his body, whither all

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thoſe who in great numbers had brought perfumes to burn with it were directed to carry them. When all was ready, *Antony* mounted the Roſtra, and ordered a herald to read the ſeveral decrees of the Senate, which declared *Cæſar*'s perſon ſacred, and accumulated all human and divine honours upon him: He then commanded him to read the oath that all the Senators had taken, not only not to attempt any thing againſt his life, but to defend it at the expence of their own; and he added a few words ſuited to the occaſion [x]. When he had done ſpeaking, the body was carried down from the bed of ſtate into the Forum by the magiſtrates, and thoſe who had borne offices under the deceaſed. The people, moved at the ſight of this melancholy ſpectacle, and inflamed by verſes adapted to raiſe compaſſion, which were induſtriouſly ſpread among them, would not ſuffer the body to be carried further, or to the field of *Mars*; but would have it burnt, ſome in *Pompey*'s Senate-houſe, where he had been kil-

[x] *Dio* has given us a long oration of his own compoſition, and *Appian* writes, that *Antony* not only unfolded before the people *Cæſar*'s garment, pierced by the daggers of the Conſpirators, and ſtained with his blood, but alſo ſhewed a waxen image, with all the wounds marked upon it, which, in order to excite compaſſion, and ſpirit them up to revenge, he twirled about before them in relating his hero's aſſaſſination. But, though it muſt be allowed that *Antony* did make a ſhort funeral oration, yet it does not ſeem probable that he acted the part which *Appian* and *Dio* make him act. *Suet. in Cæſ. l.* 44. *Cicero*, in a letter to *Atticus*, reflects upon him in no other reſpect, than for his calling *Cæſar*, *clariſſimum virum*,

led;

led; others in the temple of *Jupiter*. In this tumult, two armed men came up to the body, and ſet fire to what covered it. The mob upon this immediately pulled up the ſeats of the judges, the counters of the bankers and ſhop keepers, and gathered all the wood they could lay their hands on. The muſicians threw into the fire the cloaths they had prepared for the ceremony; the veteran ſoldiers their arms; the women their ornaments; and the flame became ſo violent, according to *Appian*, that the houſe of *L. Bellienus* was intirely conſumed. From the funeral, the mob ran with firebrands to ſet fire to the houſes of the Conſpirators, who had great difficulty to prevent them, notwithſtanding the preparations they had made againſt ſuch an attack. *Helvius Cinna*, one of the Tribunes, and a particular friend to *Cæſar*, was torn in pieces by the rabble, being miſtaken, unluckily, for the Prætor *L. Cornelius Cinna*, who had extolled the act of killing *Cæſar*, in a ſpeech from the Roſtra; and, fixing his head upon a pike, they carried it about the town. This ſo alarmed all thoſe who had any ſimilitude of name with any of the Conſpirators, that *Caius Caſca* thought fit, by a public advertiſement, to ſignify the diſtinction of his *perſon* and *principles* from *Publius Caſca*, who gave the firſt blow to *Cæſar* [y].

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Val. Max. ix. 9. Plut. Cæſ. et Brut. Dio, p. 267.

y "We are not to imagine, however, as it is commonly "believed, that theſe violences were owing to the general "indignation of the citizens againſt the murderers of *Cæſar*; "excited either by the ſpectacle of his body, or the eloquence "of

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 708 Conſ.

This was a clear warning to the Conſpirators, how little reaſon they had to expect any ſafety in the city, without a guard for their defence.

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" of *Antony*, who made the funeral oration; for it is certain " that *Cæſar*, through his whole reign, could never draw from " the people any public ſignification of their favour; but, " on the contrary, was conſtantly mortified by the perpetual " demonſtrations of their hatred and diſaffection to him. The " caſe was the ſame after his death: The memory of his " tyranny was odious, and *Brutus* and *Caſſius* the real favou- " rites of the city; as appeared on all occaſions, wherever " their free and genuine ſenſe could be declared, in the " public *ſhews* and *theatres*; which *Cicero* frequently appeals " to as a proper encouragement to all honeſt men to act " with ſpirit and vigour in the defence of their common " liberty. What happened therefore at the funeral was " the effect of artifice and faction; the work of a mercenary " rabble; the greateſt part ſlaves and ſtrangers, liſted and " prepared for violence, againſt a party unarmed, and pur- " ſuing pacific counſels, and placing all their truſt and ſecu- " rity in the juſtice of their cauſe. *Cicero* calls it a con- " ſpiracy of *Cæſar*'s freedmen, who were the chief managers " of the tumult; in which the *Jews* ſeem to have borne a " conſiderable part; who, out of hatred to *Pompey* for his " affront to their city and temple, were zealouſly attached " to *Cæſar*; and, above all other foreigners in *Rome*, diſtin- " guiſhed themſelves by the expreſſions of their grief for his " death; ſo as to ſpend whole nights at his monument." *Middl. p.* 256.

The whole ſubſequent hiſtory is a confutation of what is here aſſerted. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were the favourites of a part of the Nobility, but could have no admirers among the people; though indeed all conſiderate men were deſirous of peace upon any terms. *Appian, Bell. Civ. l.* iii. expreſs- ly contradicts what *Cicero* ſays of the popular favour ſhewn at *Brutus*'s plays: *He relates, that, when ſome bribed to that pur- poſe, cried out, that Brutus and Caſſius ſhould be recalled, there was ſuch an uproar among the people, that the plays ceaſed till*

M. Brutus and *Caſſius* retired immediately to *Lanuvium*, fifteen miles from *Rome*: *D. Brutus*, Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

ſuch time as thoſe who demanded their return were ſilent. And indeed this was the proper occaſion for the people to ſhew their favour; and, had they ſhewn it with any unanimity, *Brutus*'s return would have been a conſequence of it. *Cicero*'s account to *Atticus* of the *Cæſarians* is as follows: "*Hirtius* "warmly loves the man whom *Brutus* ſtabbed; he, and all "the reſt, are perpetually lamenting the miſerable end of ſo "great a man; and declaring that the Republic is ruined by "it. They ſay that all his acts will be made void, as ſoon "as the people's fears are over; and that clemency was "his ruin; ſince, if it had not been for that, he could not "have periſhed in ſuch a manner." *Ad Attt.* xiv. 22. And this is a proper place to preſent the reader with an excellent letter of a very worthy man, of *Matius* to *Cicero*. *Ep. Fam.* xi. 28.

"YOUR letter gave me great pleaſure, by letting me "ſee that you retain ſtill that favourable opinion of me, "which I had always hoped and wiſhed; and, though I "had never indeed any doubt of it, yet, for the high value "that I ſet upon it, I was very ſollicitous that it ſhould re-"main always inviolable. I was conſcious to myſelf, that I "had done nothing which could reaſonably give offence to "any honeſt man; and did not imagine therefore that a per-"ſon of your great and excellent accompliſhments could be "induced to take any without reaſon, eſpecially againſt one "who had always profeſſed, and ſtill continued to profeſs, "a ſincere good-will to you. Since all this then ſtands juſt I "wiſh it, I will now give an anſwer to thoſe accuſations, from "which you, agreeably to your character, out of your ſingular "goodneſs and friendſhip, have ſo often defended me. I "am no ſtranger to what has been ſaid of me by certain "perſons ſince *Cæſar*'s death: They call it a crime in me, "that I am concerned for the loſs of an intimate friend, "and ſorry that the man whom I loved met with ſo un-"happy a fate: They ſay, that our country ought to be "preferred to any friendſhip, as if they had really made

"it

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Trebonius, and others, ſtaid behind ſome time longer, and demanded a guard for themſelves and

" it evident, that his death was of ſervice to the Repub-
" lic; but I will not deal craftily: I own myſelf not to
" be arrived at that degree of wiſdom; nor did I yet fol-
" low *Cæſar* in our late diſſenſions, but my friend; whom,
" though diſpleaſed with the thing, I could not deſert; for
" I never approved the civil war, or the cauſe of it; but
" took all poſſible pains to ſtifle it in its birth. Upon the
" victory therefore of a familiar friend, I was not eager either
" to advance, or to enrich myſelf; an advantage which o-
" thers who had leſs intereſt with him than I abuſed to
" great exceſs. Nay, my circumſtances were even hurt by
" *Cæſar*'s law, to whoſe kindneſs the greateſt part of thoſe
" who now rejoice at his death, owed their very continu-
" ance in the city. I ſollicited the pardon of the vanquiſh-
" ed with the ſame zeal as if it had been for myſelf. Is
" it poſſible therefore for me, who laboured to procure
" the ſafety of all, not to be concerned for the death of him,
" from whom I uſed to procure it? Eſpecially when the
" very ſame men, who were the cauſe of making him odious,
" were the authors alſo of deſtroying him. But I ſhall have
" cauſe, they ſay, to repent, for daring to condemn their
" act. Unheard of inſolence! that it ſhould be allowed to
" ſome to glory in a wicked action, yet not to others, even
" to grieve at it without puniſhment. But this was always
" free, even to ſlaves, to fear, rejoice, and grieve by
" their own will, not that of another; which yet theſe men,
" who call themſelves the authors of liberty, are endea-
" vouring to extort from us by the force of terror. But
" they may ſpare their threats; for no danger ſhall terrify
" me from performing my duty and the offices of humanity;
" ſince it was always my opinion, that an honeſt death
" was never to be avoided, often even to be ſought. But
" why are they angry with me, for wiſhing only that they
" may repent of their act? I wiſh that all the world may
" regret *Cæſar*'s death. But I ought, they ſay, as a member
" of civil ſociety, to wiſh the good and ſafety of the Repub-
" lic.

and their accomplices. But *Antony* informed them by *Hirtius*, that the ſoldiers and the popu- Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

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" lic. If my paſt life and future hopes do not already prove " that I wiſh it, without my ſaying ſo, I will not pretend to " evince it by argument. I beg of you therefore in the " ſtrongeſt terms to attend to facts rather than to words; and " if you think it the moſt uſeful to one in my circumſtances, " that what is right ſhould take place; never imagine " that I can have any union or commerce with ill-de- " ſigning men. I acted the ſame part in my youth, where " to miſtake would have been pardonable; ſhall I then un- " do it all again, and renounce my principles in my de- " clining age? No, it is my reſolution to do nothing that " can give any offence; except it be when I lament the " cruel fate of a dear friend and illuſtrious man. If I " were in different ſentiments, I would never diſown what " I was doing; leſt I ſhould be thought not only wicked " for purſuing what was wrong, but falſe and cowardly for " diſſembling it. But I undertook the care of the ſhews, " which young *Cæſar* exhibited for the victory of his uncle: " This was an affair of private, not of public duty; it was " what I ought to have performed to the memory and " honour of my dead friend; and what I could not there- " fore deny to a youth of the greateſt hopes, and ſo highly " worthy of *Cæſar*. But I go often alſo to the Conſul *An-* " *tony*'s to pay my compliments; yet you will find thoſe very " men go oftener to aſk and receive favours, who reflect " upon me for it, as diſaffected to my country. But, what " arrogance is this? When *Cæſar* never hindered me from " viſiting whom I would; even thoſe whom he did not care " for; that they who have deprived me, of him ſhould at- " tempt by their cavils to debar me from placing my eſteem " where I think proper. But I am not afraid, that either the " modeſty of my life ſhould not be ſufficient to confute all falſe " reports of me for the future, or that they, who do not love " me for my conſtancy to *Cæſar*, would not chuſe to have " their friends reſemble me, rather than themſelves. For " my own part, if I could have my wiſh, I would ſpend the

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A. R. 709. Bef Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

lace were ſo enraged, that he did not think it poſſible for any of them to be ſafe. He alſo aſſured *Hirtius* that he could not conſent to let *Decimus* take poſſeſſion of the province to which he was nominated. *Antony* was ſenſible that, if the Conſpirators had a firm footing in *Italy*, and gained any increaſe of power, it would be impoſſible for him and his party to maintain their ground againſt the nobles. His aim was therefore to amuſe them, and neither ſuffer them to remain in the city, nor drive them to deſperate meaſures, till he had collected a ſufficient force to cruſh them. *Decimus*, in the deſponding humour he was in, thought that under the preſent difficulties the moſt prudent ſtep he could take for the common intereſt, was to requeſt an *honorary legation* for each of the Conſpirators, in order to give ſome decent colour to their leaving *Rome*. *Hirtius* accordingly promiſed to obtain this for them; but, in caſe he ſucceeded, it was thought, that it would not be long *'ere they ſhould be declared public enemies, and ſentenced to baniſhment*. *Decimus* adviſed, therefore, his Confederates, as the moſt prudent ſtep in the preſent conjuncture, *to ſubmit to fortune, and retire to Rhodes, or to ſome other ſecure part of the world*, where they

Cic. Fam. xii. 5. Melm. xii. 5.

Ibid.

" remainder of my days in quiet at *Rhodes*; but, if any ac-
" cident prevent me, will live in ſuch a manner at *Rome*, as
" always to deſire, that what is right may prevail. I am
" greatly obliged to our friend *Trebatius*, for giving me this
" aſſurance of your ſincere and friendly regard for me,
" and for making it my duty to reſpect and obſerve a man
" whom I had eſteemed always before with inclination. Take
" care of your health, and preſerve me in your affection."

might

might adjuſt their meaſures to public circumſtances, and wait at leaſt to ſee how far the news of *Cæſar*'s death would have influence to ſtrengthen the ſeveral parties of *Sextus Pompey*, who was in arms in *Spain*; or of *Cæcilius Baſſus*, who was raiſing commotions in *Aſia*. He took courage, however, and went and put himſelf in poſſeſſion of his province of *Ciſalpine Gaul* without the leave of the Conſul. *Trebonius*, in the mean time, ſtole away privately to *Aſia*, and *Tillius Cimber* to *Bithynia*; and, ſoon after this diſperſion of ſome of the Chiefs of the conſpiracy, *Cicero* with ſeveral other Senators retired from *Rome* [z].

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[z] *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*, was in *Rome* when *Cæſar* was killed, and was lodged in his houſe: She had intended to accompany him into the Eaſt, in order to preſerve her influence over him, which was very great. But, being terrified by the accident of his death, and the diſorders which followed it, ſhe preſently left the city. However, before her departure, ſhe laboured to get her ſon by *Cæſar* acknowledged as ſuch at *Rome*, and declared the heir of her kingdom; as he was the year following by *Antony* and *Octavius*. She had a conference upon this ſubject with *Cicero* in *Cæſar*'s gardens, where the haughtineſs of her behaviour gave him no ſmall offence. Knowing his taſte and character, ſhe made him the promiſe of ſome preſent very agreeable; and thus diſobliged him the more by not performing it: He does not tell us what it was; but, from the hints, which he drops, it ſeems to have been ſtatues and curioſities from *Egypt* for the ornament of his library. When therefore ſhe was obliged to apply to him by her miniſters for his aſſiſtance in her affair, he refuſed to be concerned. "The flight of the "Queen, ſays he, gives me no pain. . . . I ſhould be "glad to hear what further news there is of her, and her "young

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Antony, as ſoon as the Conſpirators were gone, reſumed his maſk, and, as if the late violences had

" young *Cæſar*. . . . . I hate the Queen: Her agent *Am-*
" *monicus*, the witneſs and ſponſor of her promiſes to me,
" knows that I have reaſon: They were things only proper
" for a man of letters, and ſuitable to my character; ſo that
" I ſhould not ſcruple to proclaim them from the Roſtra. Her
" other agent *Sara* is not only a raſcal, but has been rude to
" me. I never ſaw him at my houſe but once, and, when I
" aſked him civilly, what commands he had for me, he ſaid
" that he came to look for *Atticus*. As to the pride of the
" Queen, when I ſaw her in the gardens, I can never think
" of it without reſentment: I will have nothing, therefore
" to do with them: They take me to have neither ſpirit, nor
" even feeling left." *Ad Att.* xiv. 8. 20. xv. 15. *Middl.* p. 262.

It was during his retirement at this time, that he compoſed his treatiſe, *on the nature of the gods*, addreſſed to *Brutus*; his diſcourſe on *divination*, or the *foreknowledge and prediction of future events*; *and the ſeveral ways by which it was ſuppoſed to be acquired or communicated to man*; thoſe *on the advantages of old-age*, *on friendſhip*, and *on fate*; and it was at this time, probably, that he finiſhed his tranſlation of *Plato*'s famous Dialogue, called *Timæus*, *on the nature and origin of the univerſe*. He was employing himſelf alſo upon a work of a different ſort, which had been long upon his hands, *a hiſtory of his own times*, or rather of his own conduct: Full of free and ſevere reflections on thoſe who had abuſed their power to the oppreſſion of the Republic, eſpecially *Craſſus* and *Cæſar*. This he calls his *anecdote*; a work not to be publiſhed, but to be ſhewn only to a few friends, in the manner of *Theopompus*, an hiſtorian famed for his ſevere and invective ſtyle. *Atticus* was urging him to put the laſt hand to it, and continue it down through *Cæſar*'s government: But he choſe to reſerve this laſt part for a diſtinct hiſtory, in which he deſigned to vindicate, at large, *the juſtice of* killing a tyrant. *Dio* ſays, that he delivered this book, ſealed up, to his ſon, with ſtrict orders not to read or publiſh it, till after his death: But,

from

had been accidental only, and the ſudden tranſport of a vile mob, profeſſed the ſame moderation as before, and affected to ſpeak with the greateſt reſpect of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. He readily procured for them a decree to abſolve them from the laws, which forbid the Prætors to be abſent from the city above ten days: And, by ſeveral other ſeaſonable acts, propoſed by him to the Senate, appeared to have nothing ſo much at heart as the public concord. Among other decrees, he offered one, which was prepared and drawn up by himſelf, "*to aboliſh for ever the name and office of a Dictator:*" This ſeemed to be a ſure pledge of his good intentions, and gave an univerſal ſatisfaction to the Senate, who paſſed it, as it were, by acclamation, without even putting it to the vote; and decreed the thanks of the houſe for it to *Antony*. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

About the ſame time the mob, headed by the impoſtor *Marius* (who was now returned to *Rome*) and the freedmen of *Cæſar*, had erected an altar in the Forum on the ſpot where his body was burnt; with a pillar of *Numidian* marble twenty feet high, inſcribed, *To the Father of his country*. Here they performed daily ſacrifices, and the humour of worſhipping at this new altar ſpread ſo faſt among the meaner ſort and the ſlaves, as to endanger the peace and ſafety of the city. But *Antony* had their Chief committed to priſon,

from this time, he never ſaw his ſon, and left the piece, probably unfiniſhed; though ſome copies of it afterwards got abroad, from which his commentator *Aſconius* has quoted ſeveral particulars. *Middl. p.* 291.

where

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 40 Conſ.

Philip. i. 2.

where he was ſtrangled without any form of law; And his body in an ignominious manner was dragged through the ſtreets. By this meaſure, *Antony* gained freſh credit with the Conſpirators; inſomuch that *Brutus*, together with *Caſſius* and other friends, had a *perſonal conference* with him about this time, which paſſed to mutual ſatisfaction. By theſe arts he hoped to amuſe the Conſpirators, and induce them to lay aſide all vigorous counſels; and thus prevent them from furniſhing themſelves with troops and money, which would put them in a condition to act offenſively [a].

Antony, having thus put his affairs into the beſt train that he could, and appointed the *1ſt of June* for a meeting of the Senate, in order to deliberate on the State of the Republic, took the opportunity of that interval to make a progreſs through *Italy*, for the ſake of viſiting the quarters of the veteran ſoldiers, and engaging them to his ſervice by all ſorts of bribes and promiſes. The government of the city, in his abſence, devolved to *Dolabella*, whoſe conduct gave great ſatisfaction to the Senate. The death

[a] *Ad Att.* xiv. 16. With the ſame view he wrote an artful letter to *Cicero* to deſire his conſent to the reſtoration of *S. Clodius*, the chief agent of *P. Clodius*, who had been ſeveral years in baniſhment for outrages committed in the city; chiefly againſt *Cicero* himſelf, on whoſe account he was condemned. *Antony*, by his marriage with *Fulvia*, the widow of *P. Clodius*, became the protector of all that family, and the tutor of young *Publius*, her ſon; which gave him a decent pretence of intereſting himſelf in this affair. *Middl.* p. 260.

of

of *Marius* had not put a ſtop to the mode of ſacrificing at *Cæſar*'s column: The multitudes which continued to flock to the place, fired with a kind of enthuſiaſtic rage, ran furious about the ſtreets, committing all ſorts of outrage and violence againſt the ſuppoſed friends of liberty. This was open rebellion, and called for a remedy; which *Dolabella* effectually applied by demoliſhing the pillar and altar, paving the area they ſtood upon, and ſeizing the authors of the diſorders; whom he proceeded againſt with great ſeverity, cauſing ſuch of them as were free to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock, and the ſlaves to be crucified. This, we are told by *Cicero*, gave an univerſal joy to the city: The whole body of the people attended the Conſul to his houſe; and in the theatres gave him the uſual teſtimony of their thanks by the loudeſt acclamations [b].

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Antony,

[b] In a letter on this occaſion to *Atticus*, *Cicero* ſays, "O "my admirable *Dolabella!* I now call him mine; for, be- "lieve me, I had ſome doubt of him before. The fact affords "matter of great ſpeculation: *To throw them down the rock*; "*to crucify*; *demoliſh the pillar*; *pave the area*; in ſhort, it is "heroic. He has extinguiſhed all appearance of that regret "for *Cæſar*, which was ſpreading every day ſo faſt, that I "began to apprehend ſome danger to our tyrant-killers: "But I now agree with you and conceive better hopes." *Ad "Att.* xiv. 15. Oh the brave act of *Dolabella!* What a "proſpect does it give us? I never ceaſe praiſing and ex- "horting him—Our *Brutus*, I dare ſay, might now walk ſafely "through the Forum, with a crown of gold upon his head: "For who dare moleſt him, when *the rock or the croſs* is to be "their fate? And when the very loweſt of the people give "ſuch

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Antony, in his progreſs through *Italy*, having drawn great numbers of the veterans towards *Rome* to be ready for any purpoſe his affairs ſhould require, found himſelf above controul, and began immediately to act with leſs reſerve. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* continued ſtill near *Lanuvium*, being yet irreſolute what meaſures they ſhould take: They kept themſelves quiet and retired, expecting what time and chance would offer, and waiting particularly to ſee what humour the Conſuls would be in at the next meeting of the Senate, with regard to themſelves and the Republic; and, ſince they were driven from the diſcharge of their Prætorſhip, they contrived to put the people in mind of them, from time to time, by their edicts, in which they made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of their pacific diſpoſition; declared that their conduct ſhould give no handle for a civil war; and that they would ſubmit to a perpetual exile, if it would contribute in any manner to the public concord; being contented with the conſciouſneſs of their act, as the greateſt honour which they could enjoy. Their preſent deſign was to come to *Rome* on the *1ſt of June*, and to take their places in the Senate, if it ſhould be thought adviſeable; or to preſent themſelves at leaſt in the *Roſtra* and try the affections of the people, for whom *Brutus* was preparing a ſpeech. But now the conduct of *Antony* began to open *Brutus*'s eyes, and convince him of the miſtake

Vell. Pat. ii. 62. Ad. Att. xiv. 20. et xv. 1.

" ſuch proofs of their applauſe and approbation?" *Ad Att.* xiv. 16. See alſo his letter to *Dolabella*, Ep. Fam. ix. 14. which is in the higheſt ſtrain of compliment.

of

of his pacific measures; and he thought it time, therefore, in concert with *Cassius*, to require an explicit account of the Consul's intentions, and expostulate with him gently in the following letter: Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 708 Conf.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS, Prætors, to M. ANTONIUS, Consul.

"IF we were not persuaded of your sincerity and good-will to us, we should not have written this to you; which, out of the kind disposition that you bear to us, you will take without doubt in good part. We are informed that a great multitude of veteran soldiers is already come to *Rome*, and a much greater expected there on the *1st of June*. If we could harbour any suspicion or fear of you, we should be unlike ourselves: Yet, surely, after we had put ourselves into your power and, by your advice, dismissed the friends, whom we had about us, from the great towns, and that not only by public edict, but by private letters, we deserve to be made acquainted with your designs; especially in an affair which relates to ourselves. We beg of you, therefore, to let us know what your intentions are with regard to us. Do you think we can be safe in such a crowd of veterans? who have thoughts, we hear, even of rebuilding the altar; which no man can desire or approve who wishes our safety and honour. That we had no other view from the first but peace, nor sought any thing else but the public liberty, Ep. Fam. xi. 2. Middl. p. 288.

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

"liberty, the event ſhews. Nobody can de-
"ceive us but you which is not certainly agree-
"able to your virtue and integrity: But no man
"elſe has it in his power to deceive us. We
"truſted and ſhall truſt to you alone. Our
"friends are under the greateſt apprehenſions for
"us: For, though they are perſuaded of your
"integrity, yet they reflect that a multitude of
"veterans may ſooner be puſhed to any violence
"by others, than reſtrained by you. We deſire
"an explicit anſwer to all particulars: For it is
"ſilly and trifling to tell us, that the veterans
"are called together, becauſe you intend to move
"the Senate in their favour in *June*: For who do
"you think will hinder it, when it is certain that
"we ſhall not? Nobody ought to think us too
"fond of life: When nothing can happen to us,
"but with the ruin and confuſion of all things."

The aſſembly on the *1ſt of June* was compoſed intirely of thoſe who were either devoted to *Antony*, or quite indifferent how affairs ſhould turn. *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, the Conſuls elect, did not appear, and *Cicero* alſo abſented himſelf. He had moved towards *Rome* in the end of *May*; but, having received an account that the town was filled with veterans, who talked deſperately againſt thoſe who did not favour them; that *Antony* came thither, attended by a ſtrong body of them; that all his views were bent on war, and that he deſigned to transfer the province of *Gaul* from *Decimus Brutus* to himſelf *by a vote of the People*; he determined not to venture to the Senate, but withdrew again from the city. The

major

major part of the Senate followed his example, and fled out of the city for fear of ſome violence, leaving the Conſuls, with a few of their creatures, to make what decrees they pleaſed. *Antony* repreſented, that his life was in danger on account of the ſeveral decrees he had paſſed and executed in favour of the Republic, and demanded a guard, which was no ſooner granted him, than he inliſted the veterans he had brought to *Rome*, and, inſtead of a moderate guard, formed to himſelf a little army of ſix thouſand old ſoldiers. The day following he obtained a decree which had been propoſed before and deferred till the *1ſt of June, to give the cogniſance and execution of the acts of Cæſar to the Conſuls.* This decree put every thing into his hands; for, being maſter both of *Cæſar*'s papers, and of his Secretary *Faberius*, by whoſe hand they were written, he had an opportunity of forging and inſerting, at pleaſure, whatever he found of uſe to him; which he practiſed without any reſerve or management, recalling from baniſhment the exiles, and ſelling publicly, for money, whatever immunities were deſired by countries, cities, Princes, or private men, on pretence that they had been granted by *Cæſar*, and entered into his books. The impoſture was ſo groſs in ſome inſtances, that he made *Cæſar* mention things which had happened ſince his death. He granted the freedom of the city to all *Sicily*, pretending that *Cæſar* had publiſhed a law to this effect in an aſſembly of the people, though nobody had ever heard of it: He freed the rich towns of the

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 708 Conſ.

iſland

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

iſland of *Crete*, and enacted that, after *Brutus*'s proconſul ſhip, it ſhould become a province: He reſtored to King *Dejotarus* all his dominions, though every body knew that *Cæſar* hated no man ſo much as *Dejotarus*; but the bargain was made in *Fulvia*'s apartments for the ſum of ten millions of ſeſterces by the King's agents at *Rome*. *Antony*, immediately after *Cæſar*'s death, by ſeizing upon the ready money he had left, and which *Calpurnia* delivered up to him, had preſently amaſſed an infinite ſum: For though, at the time of *Cæſar*'s death, he owed, as *Cicero* told him, forty millions of ſeſterces [c]; yet, within leſs than a fortnight after, he had paid the whole debt. But he ſoon made himſelf maſter of a much larger ſum, by ſeizing on the public treaſury, which *Cæſar* had depoſited, for the occaſions of the government, in the temple of *Opis*, amounting to ſeven hundred millions of ſeſterces, or above five millions and an half of our money. The uſe he made of it was to purchaſe ſoldiers, and he was now in a condition to outbid any competitor: But the firſt purchaſe, which he made with it, was of his collegue *Dolabella*, who had been long oppreſſed with the load of his debts, and whom, by a part of this money, and the promiſe of a farther ſhare in the plunder of the Empire, he drew intirely from *Cicero* and the party of the nobles into his own meaſures. This was an acquiſition worth any price to him; the

80,729 l.

322,916 l.

5,651,037 l. Arb.

[c] Tu autem quadringenties HS. quod idibus Martiis debuiſti, quonam moderante kalendas Aprilis debere deſiiſti. *Phil.* ii. 37.

gene-

general inclination both of the city and country, we are told, being clearly againſt him. The town of *Puteoli*, one of the moſt conſiderable in *Italy*, had lately choſen the two *Brutus's* and *Caſſius* for their patrons, and there wanted nothing but a Leader, it is ſaid, to arm the whole Empire againſt him. *Dolabella* ſeemed to be that very perſon, till bribed, as *Cicero* ſays, by the force of money, *he not only deſerted, but overturned, the Republic.* Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ. Middl. p. 295.

On the *5th of June* commiſſions were granted ſeverally to *Brutus* and *Caſſius* to buy up corn in *Aſia* and *Sicily*. The ſituation of theſe Leaders of the Republican party, was, at this time, very diſagreeable; they were ſtripped of the power of their offices, ſuffered a kind of exile, and even depended upon *Antony* for their ſafety. Their friends, therefore, at *Rome* had been ſoliciting the Senate for ſome extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the diſgrace of living in baniſhment, when inveſted with one of the firſt magiſtracies of the Republic. This was the ground of the commiſſion juſt mentioned to buy corn; which ſeemed, however, to be below their character, and contrived as an affront to them by *Antony*, who affected ſtill to ſpeak of them always with reſpect. But their friends thought any thing better for them than to ſit ſtill in *Italy*; where their perſons were expoſed to danger from the veteran ſoldiers, who were all now in motion: And that this employment would be a ſecurity to them for the preſent, and

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

afford an opportunity of providing for their future ſafety, by enabling them to execute, what they were now meditating, a deſign of ſeizing ſome provinces abroad and arming themſelves in defence of their party; which was what their enemies were moſt afraid of, and charged them with publicly, in order to make them odious.

Ad Att. xiii. 11 and 12.

On the 26*th of June*, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* held a ſelect Council of their friends, at *Antium*, to which *Cicero* was particularly invited. There were preſent, among others, *Favonius*, *Servilia*, *Porcia*, *Brutus*'s wife, and his ſiſter *Tertulla*, the wife of *Caſſius*. *Cicero*, being aſked his opinion, adviſed, "that *Brutus* ſhould go to *Aſia*, and undertake the affair of the corn: That the only "thing to be done at preſent was to provide "for their ſafety: That their ſafety was a certain benefit to the Republic. . . . . Here "*Caſſius* interrupted him, and, with great fierceneſs in his looks, proteſted that he would not "go to *Sicily*, nor accept, as a favour, what was "intended as an affront; but would go to "*Achaia*,—*Brutus* ſaid, that he would go to "*Rome*, if *Cicero* thought it proper for him—but "*Cicero* declared it impoſſible for him to be ſafe "there;—but, ſuppoſing, ſays he, I could be "ſafe: Why then, ſays *Cicero*, I ſhould adviſe "it by all means, as the beſt thing you could "do, and better than any province.——After "much diſcourſe and complaining for the loſs of "opportunities, for which *Caſſius* laid all the "blame on *D. Brutus*, *Cicero* ſaid, that, though "that was true, it was in vain to talk of what

"was

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

" was paſſed; and, as the caſe then ſtood, he ſaw " nothing left but to follow his advice,—to " which, at laſt, they all ſeemed to agree, eſ- " pecially when *Servilia* [d] undertook, by her me- " diation, to get the affair of the corn left out " of their commiſſion; and *Brutus* conſented " that the plays and ſhews, with which he was " to entertain the city ſhortly as Prætor, ſhould " be given by proxy in his abſence." *Cicero* took his leave, *pleaſed with nothing*, he ſays, *but the conſciouſneſs of having done his duty: For, as to the reſt, he gave all for loſt; found the veſſel not only broken, but ſhattered to pieces; and neither prudence, reaſon, nor deſign in what they were doing: So that, if he had any doubt before, he had none now, but longed to get abroad as ſoon as poſſible.*

There was now great expectation of the *ſhews* and *plays* which *Brutus*, as Prætor of the city, was going to exhibit, according to annual cuſtom,

[d] *Servilia*, though ſiſter to *Cato*, had been one of *Cæſar*'s miſtreſſes: In the civil war he gave her ſeveral rich farms out of his *Pompeian* confiſcations; and, according to *Suetonius in Cæſ.* 50, bought a ſingle jewel for her at the price of about 50,000 l. She was a woman of ſpirit and intrigue, in great credit with the *Cæſarean* party, and at this very time poſſeſſed the eſtate and villa of *Pontius Aquila*, one of the Conſpirators. *Cicero* reckons it among the ſoloeciſms of the time, *that the mother of the tyrant-killer ſhould hold the eſtate of one of her ſon's accomplices*; (ad Att. xiv. 21.) yet ſhe had ſuch a ſhare in all the counſels of *Brutus*, that it made *Cicero* the leſs inclined to enter into them, or to be concerned with one whom he could not truſt: *When he is influenced ſo much*, ſays he, *by his mother's advice, or, at leaſt, her intreaties, why ſhould I interpoſe myſelf?*" Ad Att. xv. 11. Middl. p. 297.

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 40 8 Conſ.

in honour of *Apollo*, on the 3*d* of *July*; and all people were attentive and impatient to ſee in what manner they would be received. The ſucceſs of them anſwered all the hopes of *Brutus* and his friends; for they were received with great applauſe by all ranks, though *Antony*'s brother-in-law *Caius*, as the next Prætor in office, preſided at them. One of the plays was *Tereus*, a tragedy of *Accius*; which, having many ſtrokes in it on the characters and acts of tyrants, was infinitely clapped by the people. This gave great pleaſure to *Brutus*, who remained about a month longer in *Italy*, making preparations for his voyage.

Sextus Pompeius about this time made propoſals towards an accommodation. After the battle of *Munda*, he had been obliged to fly from *Corduba*, and hide himſelf in the mountains of *Celtiberia*: Here he remained ſome time in diſguiſe; but *Cæſar* had no ſooner left *Spain*, than, gathering together a number of his ſcattered ſoldiers, he dared to appear again in arms, and made war ſucceſsfully againſt two of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, *Carinnas* and *Pollio*. Upon the news of *Cæſar*'s aſſaſſination, numbers flocked to him, and he ſaw himſelf again at the head of ſeven legions, with which he appeared in open campaign, and ſtormed ſome towns. The ſum of his demands was, that all who had the command of armies ſhould diſmiſs them. This propoſal was contained in the letter which he addreſſed to the Conſuls; but to *Libo*, his father-in-law, to whom he incloſed this public letter, he ſignified at the

Middl. p. 305. Ad Att. xvi. 11.

ſame time that, unleſs his father's eſtate and houſe at *Rome* were reſtored to him, he would agree to nothing. This overture from *Pompey* was procured chiefly by the management of *Lepidus*; who, having the province of *Spain* aſſigned to him, where *Pompey* was very ſtrong, had no mind to be engaged in a war at ſuch a diſtance from *Rome*, and drawn off from attending to the main point in view, the event of affairs in *Italy*: For which purpoſe, on pretence of the public quiet, he made the offer of a treaty and honourable terms to *Pompey*; and that, on condition of laying down his arms, and quitting the province, he ſhould be reſtored to all his eſtates and honours, and have the command of the whole naval power of *Rome*, in the ſame manner as his father had it before him: All which was propoſed and recommended to the Senate by *Antony* himſelf; where, to preſerve a due reſpect to *Cæſar*'s acts, by which *Pompey*'s eſtates had been confiſcated, it was decreed, "that the ſame ſum, for which "they had been ſold, ſhould be given him by the "public, to enable him to purchaſe them again." This amounted to ſeven hundred millions of ſeſterces, above five millions and an half of our money, excluſive of his jewels, plate, and furniture; which, being wholly embezzled, he was content to loſe. On theſe terms, ratified by the authority of the Senate, *Pompey* actually quitted *Spain*, and came to *Marſeilles*; where, in his quality of Admiral, he made naval preparations, with which he ſoon after ſeized upon *Sicily*. The project was wiſely concerted by *Lepidus*

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Philip. v. 13 & 14. Ibid. xiii. 4 & 5.

Appian, p. 528. Dio, l. 45.

5,651,037 l. Arb. Philip. xiii. 5.

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

and *Antony*; for, while it carried a ſhew of moderation and diſpoſition to peace, it diſarmed a deſperate enemy, who was in condition to give great obſtruction to their deſigns, and diverſion to their arms, at a time when the neceſſity of their intereſts required their preſence and whole attention at home, to lay a firm foundation of their power in the heart and center of the Empire.

A little before this time, a new actor, the young *Octavius*, left by his uncle *Cæſar*, the heir of his name and eſtate, appeared upon the ſtage, who, though hitherto unnoticed, ſoon made a diſtinguiſhed figure upon it, and became the object of general attention. He had attended *Cæſar* in the *Spaniſh* war; after which he was ſent to *Apollonia*, a celebrated academy or ſchool of learning in *Macedonia*, there to wait for him in his way to the *Parthian* war, in which he was to ſerve in quality of Maſter of the Horſe. As ſoon as the news of his uncle's death was ſpread in thoſe parts, all the officers of the troops quartered there made him a tender of their ſervices. *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* were of opinion that he would do right to accept of them; and, in all appearance, if he had followed their advice, all the veterans would have repaired to him, and, in the confuſed and unſettled ſtate of things in *Italy*, he would eaſily have made himſelf maſter of *Rome*, and forced *Antony* to join him. But he thought this too raſh an undertaking, before he had ſounded the diſpoſitions of the citizens and ſoldiers. The ſole pretenſion, there-

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

therefore, that he avowed at preſent, was to aſſert his right to the ſucceſſion of his uncle's eſtate, and to claim the poſſeſſion of it. This was thought an attempt by many too hardy and dangerous for a mere boy, not 19 years complete; for the ariſtocratical party had great reaſon to be jealous of him, leſt, with the inheritance of the eſtate, he ſhould graſp at the power of his uncle; and *Antony* ſtill more, who had deſtined that ſucceſſion to himſelf, and even ſeized the effects, leſt, by the advantage of that wealth, *Octavius* might be in a condition to make head againſt him. His mother *Atia*, therefore, and her huſband *Philip*, out of concern for his ſafety, preſſed him, by letters, *to ſuſpend his claim for a while*, and not aſſume an invidious name, before he could ſee what turn the public affairs would take. But, on the other ſide, there were many about him conſtantly puſhing him on to throw himſelf upon the affections of the city and the army, before his enemies had made themſelves too ſtrong for him. The remonſtrances of theſe laſt had weight with him; and, incited by his natural ambition, he reſolved without delay to paſs over into *Italy*. On his landing at *Brunduſium*, he was received by the ſoldiers with great demonſtrations of attachment to his cauſe; and the veterans ſettled in *Italy* came from all parts to meet him, complaining of *Antony*'s indolence in revenging the death of his great friend and benefactor. He croſſed the country to join his mother and father-in-law, who were at *Cumæ*; where *Cicero* alſo was at this time, as well as *Bal-*

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 708 Conſ.

bus, Hirtius and *Panſa.* On the 18*th* of *April*, he arrived at *Naples*; whither *Balbus* went the next morning to receive him, and returned the ſame day to *Cicero*, near *Cumæ*, having conducted *Octavius* to the adjoining villa of his father-in-law *Philip*. *Hirtius* and *Panſa* preſented him to *Cicero*, to whom he made the ſtrongeſt aſſurances *that he would be governed implicitly by his advice.* His domeſtics gave him the name of *Cæſar*; for the young man was determined to riſk all his hopes on the credit of this name; but *Philip* continued to call him *Octavius*, and ſo did *Cicero:* Who, ſpeaking of him to *Atticus*, ſays, "*Octavius* is ſtill with us, and treats me with the "greateſt reſpect and friendſhip .... *it is not* "*poſſible for him to make a good citizen, there are* "*ſo many about him who threaten the death of our* "*friends: they declare, that what they have done* "*can never be forgiven.*" On his arrival near *Rome*, he was met by crowds of his father's and his own friends, and conducted by them in pomp nto the city. Before he diſmiſſed them, he deſired that they would attend him the next morning nto the Forum; and he then went to *C. Antonius*, who, in *Brutus*'s abſence, executed the functions of *Prætor Urbanus*, claimed in a legal manner his father's ſucceſſion, and had his claim entered into the public regiſter. From the Prætor's tribunal, he went to *Pompey*'s gardens, where the Conſul *Antony* reſided. After the firſt compliments, *Octavius* having demanded of the Conſul to be put in poſſeſſion of the money and other effects *Cæſar* had left, in order to be able to diſcharge

Ad Att. xiv. 12. April 22.

Appian.

charge the legacies of the will: *Antony* gave him but a very ſhort audience, telling him *that he was young, and, did not know what he was about; that the title he aſſumed of heir and executor to Cæſar's will was a burden too great for his ſhoulders.* The Conſul took likewiſe all poſſible means to prevent *Octavius* from getting his adoption confirmed by the people in an aſſembly of the *Curiæ*, as the law required. He alſo oppoſed the young man in another ſcheme, that of getting into the tribuneſhip in the place of *Helvius Cinna*, killed by the mob at *Cæſar*'s funeral. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ. Suet. Oct. 10.

Octavius, ſeeing that *Antony* openly declared againſt him, made his court to the people; and being produced into the Roſtra by one of the Tribunes, made a ſpeech to them; which he ſeconded by what was like to pleaſe the inferior part of the city much better, a promiſe of not only paying them what *Cæſar* had bequeathed them by his will, but of adding to it, and treating them with public ſhews and plays in honour of *Cæſar*'s victories. He courted alſo the Senate, who ſhewed him on their part the more regard in proportion as *Antony* became more and more formidable: "*Octavius*, ſays *Cicero* in a letter "to *Atticus*, I perceive, has parts and ſpirit, and "ſeems to be affected, as we could wiſh, to- "wards our heroes; but how far we may truſt "his age, name, ſucceſſion, education, is a "matter of great deliberation. His father-in- "law, who came to ſee me at *Aſtura*, thinks, *not* "*at all.* He muſt be cheriſhed, however, if "but for nothing elſe, yet to keep him at a diſ- Ad Att. xv. 11.

"tance

Y.R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conf.

"tance from *Antony*. *Marcellus* acts nobly, if "he inſtils into him a good diſpoſition towards "our friends. He ſeemed to be much influ-"enced by him, but to have no confidence in "*Panſa* and *Hirtius*: His natural diſpoſition is "good, if it does but hold."

On the 20*th* of *July*, juſt after the ſhews given by *Brutus*, came on thoſe in honour of *Venus Mater*, and in memory of *Cæſar*'s victories; which *Octavius* undertook at his own expence, as thoſe who had been charged with the management of them durſt not ventue to exhibit them after his death. In theſe ſhews *Octavius* brought out the *golden chair*, which, among the other honours decreed to *Cæſar* when living, was ordered to be placed in the theatres and *Circus*'s on all ſolemn occaſions; but the Tribunes ordered the chair to be taken away[e]. To anſwer the immenſe expence of theſe games, and others, in which he ſoon engaged, he was obliged to ſell not only the ſucceſſion of his father, but his own eſtate, and even that of his mother and *Philip*, his father-in-law, who, ſeeing now that his claim

Suet. Aug. 10. Dio, 44, 243.

[e] There appeared, during theſe games, a comet near the great bear for ſeven days together. It roſe about an hour before ſunſet, and was very bright. The people imagined that the appearance of this ſtar was to inform us, that *Cæſar*'s ſoul was received into the number of the immortal Gods. For which reaſon, a ſtar was placed over the head of the ſtatue, which *Octavius* conſecrated ſoon after in the Forum. The ſtar became afterwards the diſtinguiſhing attribute of *Cæſar* in all the monuments erected to his honour, and we find it upon many of his medals.

created

created to him no danger, entered earneſtly into his views. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

The turn affairs had taken made *Cicero* reſolve to proſecute what he had long been projecting, his voyage into *Greece*, to ſpend a few months with his ſon at *Athens*. He deſpaired of any good from the preſent Conſuls, and intended to ſee *Rome* no more, till their ſucceſſors entered into office; in whoſe adminiſtration he began to place all his hopes. He wrote therefore to *Dolabella* to procure him the grant of *an honorary lieutenancy*; and, leſt *Antony*, an angry man, as he calls him, ſhould think himſelf ſlighted, he wrote to him too on the ſame ſubject. *Dolabella* immediately named him for one of his own Lieutenants, which anſwered his purpoſe ſtill better; for, without obliging him to any ſervice or limiting him to any time, it left him at full liberty to go where he pleaſed; ſo that he readily accepted it, and prepared for his journey. He provided three little yatchts or gallies to tranſport himſelf and his attendants; but, as there was a report of legions arriving daily from abroad, and of pirates alſo at ſea, he thought it would be ſafer to ſail in company with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who had drawn together a fleet of conſiderable force, which now lay upon the coaſt. He gave ſeveral hints of his deſign to *Brutus*, who received it more coldly than he expected; and ſeemed uncertain and irreſolute about the time of his going. He reſolved therefore to embark without farther delay, though in ſome perplexity to to the laſt, about the expediency of the voyage, and

Middl. p. 294.

Ad Att. xv. 8. 11.

Middl. p. 309. Ad Att. xvi. 14.

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and jealous of its being cenſured, as a deſertion of his country; but *Atticus* kept up his ſpirits, by aſſuring him conſtantly in his letters, that it was generally approved of at *Rome*, provided that he kept his word of returning by the firſt of the new year. He ſailed ſlowly from *Pompeii* along the weſtern coaſt of *Italy* towards *Rhegium*, going aſhore every night to lodge with ſome friend or client. He was at *Velia*, on the coaſt of *Lucania*, on the 19*th* of *July*[f]. From *Rhegium*, or rather *Leucopetra*, a promontory near it, he paſſed over to *Syracuſe*, *on the* 1*ſt of Auguſt*, and ſet ſail the next morning towards *Greece*, but was driven back by contrary winds to *Leucopetra*; and, after

Ad Att. xvi. 2. & 6.

[f] This was the native place of *Trebatius*; whence he wrote a kind letter to him, dated the 19*th* of *July*, adviſing him by no means to ſell that family eſtate, as he then deſigned, ſituated ſo healthfully and agreeably, and affording a convenient retreat from the confuſion of the times, among a people who intirely loved him. *Ep. Fam.* vii. 20. At this place he began his *treatiſe of Topics*, or the art of finding arguments on any queſtion. It was an abſtract of *Ariſtotle*'s piece on the ſame ſubject; which *Trebatius* happening once to meet with in *Cicero*'s Tuſculan library, had begged of him to explain. He drew it up from his memory, and finiſhed it as he ſailed before he came to *Rhegium*, whence he ſent it to *Trebatius*, with a letter, dated the 27*th*. In the ſame voyage, happening to be looking over his treatiſe on the *Academic philoſophy*, he obſerved the preface of the third book to be the ſame that he had prefixed to his book *on glory*, which he had lately ſent to *Atticus*. It was his cuſtom, it ſeems, to prepare at leiſure a number of different proems adapted to the general view of his ſtudies, and ready to be applied to any of his works, which he ſhould afterwards publiſh; ſo that by miſtake he had uſed this preface twice; he compoſed therefore a new one on ſhip-board for the piece *on glory*. Ad Att. xvi. 6. Middl. p. 310.

a ſe-

a second attempt, with no better success, was forced to wait for the opportunity of a fair wind. Here the principal inhabitants of the country came to pay him their compliments; some of them fresh from *Rome*, who brought the news of an unexpected turn of affairs there towards a general pacification: "That *Antony* seemed disposed to "desist from his pretensions to *Gaul*, submit to "the authority of the Senate, and make up "matters with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who had writ-"ten circular letters to all the principal Senators, "to beg their attendance in the Senate on the 1st "of *September*; and that *Cicero*'s absence was par-"ticularly regretted, and even blamed at such "a crisis." This agreeable account of things made him presently drop all thoughts of pursuing his voyage; in which he was confirmed likewise by letters from *Atticus*; who, contrary to his former advice, pressed him now, in strong and pathetic terms, to come back again to *Rome*. He returned therefore by the same course which he had before taken, and came back to *Velia*, on the 17th of *August*. *Brutus* lay within three miles of it with his fleet; and, hearing of his arrival, came immediately on foot to salute him; "He "declared himself exceedingly pleased with Ci-"*cero*'s return; owned that he had never appro-"ved, though he had not dissuaded the voyage; "thinking it indecent to give advice to a man "of his experience; but now told him plainly, "that he had escaped too great imputations on "his character; the one, of too hasty a despair "and desertion of the common cause; the other,

"of

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Ad Att. xvi. 7. Philip.

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"of the vanity of going to ſee the *Olympic* games. "This laſt, as *Cicero* ſays, would have been "ſhameful for him in any ſtate of the Repub- "lic, but in the preſent unpardonable; and pro- "feſſes himſelf therefore greatly obliged to the "winds for preſerving him from ſuch an infa- "my, and, like good citizens, blowing him back "to the ſervice of his country."

Brutus informed him likewiſe of what had paſ- ed in the Senate on *the 1ſt of Auguſt*, and how *Piſo* had ſignalized himſelf by a brave and ho- neſt ſpeech, and ſome vigorous motions in favour of the public liberty, in which nobody had the courage to ſecond him: He produced alſo *An- tony*'s edict, and their anſwer to it, which pleaſed *Cicero* exceedingly; but, on the whole, though he was ſtill ſatisfied with his reſolution of return- ing, yet he found no ſuch reaſon for it as his firſt intelligence had ſuggeſted, nor any hopes of do- ing much ſervice at *Rome*, where he arrived on the laſt of the month.

Middl. p. 325.

The Senate met the next morning, to which *Cicero* was particularly ſummoned by *Antony*, but excuſed himſelf by a civil meſſage, as being too much indiſpoſed by the fatigue of his journey. *Antony* took this as an affront, and, in a great rage, openly threatened in the Senate to order his houſe to be pulled down about his ears [z]. The buſi-

[z] *Plutarch in Cic.* ſays, "that *Antony* ſent ſoldiers with or- "ders either to bring him, or ſet his houſe on fire; but, "being diſſuaded from this violence by the interpoſition of "the houſe, he was ſatisfied to make *Cicero loſe his pledge.*"

The

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

buſineſs of the day was to decree ſome new and extraordinary honours to the memory of *Cæſar, with a religious ſupplication to him as to a divinity*[h]. *Cicero* was determined not to concur in it, yet knew that an oppoſition would not only be fruitleſs, but dangerous; and for that reaſon

The Conſuls had in former times obliged the Senators to lodge certain pledges in their hands, which they were to loſe, if they refuſed obedience to their orders. But *Cicero* had given no pledge to *Antony*, nor was it now the cuſtom; and, though in his firſt *Philippic* he exclaims againſt the injurious treatment he now met with from *Antony*, he muſt be conſidered as complaining only of a paſſionate threat.

[h] *Cicero, Phil.* i. expreſſes himſelf in this manner on the ſubject of this religious ſupplication: "Do you imagine, "Conſcript Fathers, though I had been forced to attend the "houſe, that I ſhould have given my vote for decreeing that "parental obſequies ſhould be mixed with public thankſ-"givings; that religious rites, inexpiable, ſhould be intro-"duced among us: That ſupplications ſhould be ordered "to the dead? I will not ſay to whom. Had he been a *Lu-*"*cius Brutus*, who, with his own hand, freed his country "from regal ſlavery, and, through a ſucceſſion of almoſt "500 years, tranſmitted a repreſentative capable of being "fired with the ſame noble ſentiments, and performing a like "glorious exploit; never ſhould I have been brought to con-"ſent to the decree: Shall the dead be joined in the wor-"ſhip due to the immortal Gods, and the man who no where "has a monument of parental obſequies, be honoured with "the rites of public ſupplication! This opinion, Conſcript "Fathers, I ſhould have delivered, that I might have been "able eaſily to vindicate myſelf to the *Roman* people, in caſe "that any heavy blow had fallen upon them through war, "through peſtilence, or famine; part of theſe indeed we "already feel, and more I am afraid now threaten us. But "the immortal Gods, I hope, will pardon the people of *Rome*, "who do not approve of this decree, and the Senate, who "were compelled to grant it."

ſtaid

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ſtaid away. *Antony*, on the other hand, was deſirous to have him there, fancying that he would either be frightened into a complianee, which would leſſen him with his own party; or, by oppoſing what was intended, make himſelf odious to the ſoldiery. The decree paſſed without any contradiction.

The Senate met again the next day, when *Antony* thought fit to abſent himſelf, and leave the ſtage clear to *Cicero*; who accordingly appeared, and delivered the firſt of thoſe ſpeeches, which were afterwards called *his Philippics*. He opened it with a particular account of the motives of his late voyage and ſudden return; of his interview with *Brutus*, and his regret at leaving him. He then declared that "he came to ſecond *Piſo*; "and, in caſe of any accidents, of which many "ſeemed to ſurround him, to leave that day's "ſpeech as a monument of his perpetual fidelity "to his country." After complaining of *Antony*'s injurious treatment of him the day before, and condemning the decree to which they were forced to give their conſent, he returned thanks to *Piſo* for what he had ſaid in that place the month before; wiſhed that he had been preſent to ſecond him; and reproved the other Conſulars for betraying their dignity by deſerting him. As to public affairs, he dwelt much on *Antony*'s abuſe of their decree to confirm *Cæſar*'s acts, and the plundering the temple of *Opis* of thoſe ſums, which might have been of great ſervice to the State. He ſhewed alſo the unreaſonableneſs of two laws, which *Antony* had propoſed

ſed: The one *to form a third order of Judges to conſiſt of military men:* And the other by which *thoſe convicted either of rioteus or treaſonable practices ſhould be at liberty to appeal to the People.* He then exhorted the two Conſuls to follow the true path to glory, telling them, "that to be dear to "our citizens, to deſerve well of our country, to "be praiſed, reſpected, beloved, was truly glo-"rious: To be feared and hated always invidi-"ous, deteſtable, weak, and tottering: That *Cæ-"ſar*'s fate was a warning to them how much "better it was to be loved than to be feared: "That no man could live happy who held life on "ſuch terms, that it might be taken from him "not only with impunity, but with praiſe."

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Antony was greatly enraged at this ſpeech, and ſummoned another meeting of the Senate, for the 19*th*, where he again required *Cicero*'s attendance; but *Cicero* did not think proper to obey the ſummons. The Conſul made a bitter invective againſt him, which he had been preparing ever ſince the laſt meeting, and in which he charged him with every thing his reſentment could ſuggeſt: But chiefly inſiſted on his being not only privy to the murder of *Cæſar*, but the contriver of it, as well as the author of every ſtep which the Conſpirators had ſince taken. *Cicero* aſſures us, that his intention was to inflame the ſoldiers to ſome violence, whom he had placed for that purpoſe about the avenues of the temple of Concord, where the Senate met, and within hearing even of their debates. This determined him immediately to retire from *Rome*, and its neighbourhood, to his

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furtheſt villa's near *Naples*, where he compoſed his *ſecond Philippic*, by way of reply to *Antony*, not delivered in the Senate, as the tenor of it ſeems to imply, but finiſhed in the country, nor intended to be publiſhed, till things were actually come to extremity. The oration is a moſt bitter invective on *Antony*'s whole life, deſcribing it as a perpetual ſcene of lewdneſs, faction, violence, rapine, heightened with all the colours of wit and eloquence.

Middl. p. 313.

Brutus and *Caſſius*, during theſe tranſactions, at laſt, clearly ſeeing that *Antony* meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were growing daily more and more deſperate, left *Italy*: And they took occaſion, a little before their departure, to write the following letter in common to *Antony*:

BRUTUS and CASSIUS, Prætors, to ANTONY, Conſul.

"IF you are in good health, it is a pleaſure "to us. We have read your letter, exactly of a "piece with your edict, abuſive, threatening, "wholly unworthy to be ſent from you to us. "For our part, *Antony*, we have never done you "any injury; nor imagined that you would "think it ſtrange that Prætors and men of our "rank ſhould require any thing, by edict, of a "Conſul. But, if you are angry that we have "preſumed to do it, give us leave to be concern-"ed that you would not indulge that privilege at "leaſt to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*: For, as to our "raiſing troops, exacting contributions, ſollicit-

"ing

" ing armies, ſending expreſſes beyond ſea; ſince Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.
" you deny that you ever complained of it we
" believe you; and take it as a proof of your
" good intention: We do not, indeed, own any
" ſuch practices; yet think it ſtrange, when you
" objected nothing of that kind, that you could
" not contain yourſelf, from reproaching us with
" the death of *Cæſar*. Conſider with yourſelf
" whether it is to be endured, that, for the ſake
" of the public quiet and liberty, Prætors can-
" not depart from their rights by Edict, but the
" Conſul muſt threaten them with arms. Do not
" think to frighten us with ſuch threats: It is not
" agreeable to our character to be moved by any
" danger: Nor muſt *Antony* pretend to command
" thoſe by whoſe means he now lives free. If
" there were other reaſons to diſpoſe us to raiſe
" a civil war, your letter would have no effect to
" hinder it: For threats can have no influence
" on thoſe who are free. But you know very
" well that it is not poſſible for us to be driven
" to any thing againſt our will; and for that rea-
" ſon, perhaps, you threaten, that, whatever we
" do, it may ſeem to be the effect of fear.
" Theſe then are our ſentiments: We wiſh to
" ſee you live with honour and ſplendor in a
" free Republic; have no deſire to quarrel with
" you; yet value our liberty more than your
" friendſhip. It is your buſineſs to conſider again
" and again what you attempt, and what you can
" maintain; and to reflect, not how long *Cæſar*
" lived, but how ſhort a time he reigned: We
" pray the Gods that your counſels may be ſa-

A. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

"lutary both to the Republic and to yourſelf; "if not, wiſh, at leaſt, that they may hurt you "as little as may conſiſt with the ſafety and dig- "nity of the Republic. *Auguſt* the 4th."

Middl. p. 313.

The two Prætors were to ſucceed of courſe to the government of ſome province at the expiration of their office. *Cæſar* had intended *Macedonia* for *Brutus*, and *Syria* for *Caſſius*: But as theſe were two of the moſt important commands of the Empire, and would throw a great power into their hands, at a time when their enemies were taking meaſures to deſtroy them; ſo *Antony* contrived to get two other provinces of an inferior kind decreed to them, *Crete* to *Brutus*, and *Cyrene* to *Caſſius*; and, by a law of the people, procured *Macedonia* and *Syria* to be conferred upon himſelf and his collegue *Dolabella*; in conſequence of which, he ſent his brother *Caius* in all haſte, to poſſeſs himſelf of the firſt, and *Dolabella* to ſecure the ſecond, before their rivals could be in a condition to ſeize them by force, of which they were greatly apprehenſive; taking it for granted that this was the project which *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were now meditating. *Caſſius* had acquired a great reputation in the Eaſt by his conduct in the *Parthian* war, and *Brutus* was highly honoured in *Greece* for his reputation of virtue and love of philoſophy: They reſolved therefore to ſlight the petty provinces which were granted to them, and to try their fortunes in the more powerful ones that *Cæſar* had promiſed them: And with that view had provided the fleets above-

above-mentioned, to tranſport themſelves to thoſe countries, which they had deſtined for the ſcene of action; *Brutus* to *Macedonia*, *Caſſius* to *Syria*; where we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to give a farther account of their ſucceſs. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

The deſperate ſtate of the party of the Conſpirators, at this time, cannot be better repreſented than by giving the reader a letter of *Cicero* to *Caſſius*: "It gives me great pleaſure to find "that my late ſpeech [his firſt Philippic] "has "received your approbation. If I could more "frequently enforce the ſame ſentiments, the li-"berties of the Republic might eaſily be re-"covered. But that far more deſperate and "deteſtable ſcoundrel [*Antony*] than he at whoſe "death you ſaid, *the worſt of all villains is expired*, "is watching for a pretence to begin his mur-"derous purpoſes: And his ſingle view in charg-"ing me with having adviſed the killing of *Cæ-"ſar* is merely to excite the veteran ſoldiers a-"gainſt my life. But this is a danger which I am "not afraid to hazard, ſince he gives me a ſhare "with you in the honour of that glorious deed. "Hence it is, however, that neither *Piſo*, who "firſt ventured to inveigh againſt the meaſures "of *Antony*; nor myſelf, who made a ſpeech af-"terwards to the ſame purpoſe, about a month "afterwards; nor *P. Servilius*, who followed my "example, can any of us appear with ſafety in "the Senate. For this inhuman gladiator has "evidently a deſign upon our lives, and he ho-"ped to have rendered me the firſt victim "of his cruel vengeance. With this ſanguinary Ep. Fam. xii. 2. Melm. xii. 24.

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" view he entered the Senate on the 19*th* of *Sep-*
" *tember*, having ſeveral days before retired to
" the villa of *Metellus*, in order to prepare an
" inflammatory ſpeech againſt me. But who
" ſhall reconcile the ſilent meditations of elo-
" quence with the noiſy revels of lewdneſs and
" debauchery? Accordingly, it was the opinion
" of all his audience, that he could not ſo pro-
" perly be ſaid to have delivered a ſpeech, as to
" have diſcharged, with his uſual indecency, the
" horrid fumes of his ſcandalous intemperance.

" You are perſuaded, you tell me, that my cre-
" dit and eloquence will be able to produce ſome
" good effect. And ſome indeed it has pro-
" duced, conſidering the ſad ſituation of our af-
" fairs. It has rendered the people ſenſible that
" there are three perſons of *conſular* rank, who,
" becauſe they are in the intereſt of the Republic,
" and have ſpoken their ſentiments in the Senate
" with freedom, cannot attend that aſſembly with-
" out the danger of being aſſaſſinated. And this
" is all the good you are to expect from my ora-
" tory. A certain relation of yours [h] is ſo capti-
" vated with his new alliance, that he no longer
" concerns himſelf in the ſucceſs of your games;
" but, on the contrary, is mortified at thoſe
" peals of applauſe with which your brother [i]
" was diſtinguiſhed. Another of your family has

[h] *Lepidus* is ſuppoſed to be the perſon here meant. He was related to *Caſſius* by his own marriage, and had lately married his ſon to *Antony*'s daughter. *Melm.*

[i] He conducted the games which *Caſſius* gave as Prætor.

" been

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" been ſoftened by ſome grants, which it is pre-
" tended that *Cæſar* had deſigned to confer upon
" him. This, however, might be borne with pa-
" tience: But is it not utterly beyond all endu-
" rance, that there ſhould be a man, who dares
" openly to avow that he ſupports the meaſures of
" that ſcoundrel *Antony*, with the hopes that his
" ſon will be choſen Conſul, when you and *Brutus*
" are intitled to be Candidates for that office?
" As to our friend *L. Cotta*, a fatal deſpair (for
" ſo he terms it himſelf) has almoſt intirely dri-
" ven him from the Senate. *L. Cæſar*, that firm
" and excellent patriot, is prevented from coming
" thither by his ill ſtate of health: And *S. Sulpi-*
" *cius*, who is a true friend to the cauſe of liber-
" ty, and whoſe authority might be of infinite
" ſervice in the preſent conjuncture, is unhappily
" abſent from *Rome*. After having mentioned
" theſe, I muſt take the liberty to ſay, that I
" cannot add any others, excepting the Conſuls
" elect, who may be juſtly deemed as well-wiſh-
" ers to the Republic. The truth is, theſe are the
" only perſons upon whoſe advice and authority
" the Commonwealth can depend. And ſmall,
" indeed, would their number be, even in the
" beſt of times: How unequal then muſt their
" ſtrength be found, to combat againſt the
" worſt? All our hopes, therefore, reſt intirely
" upon you and *Brutus*; I mean, if you have not
" withdrawn from us with a view only to your
" own preſervation: For, if that ſhould be the
" caſe, we have nothing, alas! to hope neither
" from *Brutus* nor from you. But if, on the

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" contrary, you are forming ſome glorious enter-
" priſe, worthy of your exalted characters; I doubt
" not but the Republic, by your aſſiſtance, will
" ſoon recover her liberties; and I have only to
" wiſh, that I may not be deſtroyed ere that
" happy day ſhall arrive. In the mean time, my
" beſt ſervices neither are, nor ſhall be wanting
" to your family: And, whether they ſhould ap-
" ply to me for that purpoſe, or not, I ſhall ne-
" ver fail to give them proofs of my friendſhip
" towards you. Farewell."

Antony kept no longer any meaſures with the Republican party: He declared himſelf more and more openly every day againſt the Conſpirators, and, to ingratiate himſelf with the veteran ſoldiers, threatened them in his edicts, and diſcovered an intention to revenge the death of *Cæſar*. After the decree of a religious ſupplication to *Cæſar*, and parental obſequies above-mentioned, he erected a ſtatue in the Roſtra, and inſcribed it, *To the moſt worthy Parent of his country.* Theſe acts were ſo many public and ſolemn declarations, that the Conſpirators were not only *murderers*, but *parricides*. All the hopes, therefore, of the Republicans were now grounded in the quarrel between *Antony* and *Octavius*. The latter, perceiving there was nothing to be done for him in the city againſt a Conſul armed with ſupreme power both civil and military, formed a deſign againſt *Antony*'s life, and actually provided certain ſlaves to aſſaſſinate him, who were diſcovered and ſeized with poniards in *Antony*'s houſe, as they were watching an opportunity to execute their plot.

Suet. in Oct. 10. Plut. in Ant.

The

The ſtory was ſuppoſed by many to be forged by *Antony*, to juſtify his treatment of *Octavius*, and his depriving him of the eſtate of his uncle: But the greateſt part of the old writers treat it as an undoubted fact, and *Cicero* ſays, that all men of ſenſe both believed and applauded it. Theſe two Chiefs of the *Cæſareans* now made open preparations for war. *Antony* left *Rome* in the beginning of *October*, in order to meet and engage in his ſervice four legions from *Macedonia*, which had been ſent thither by *Cæſar* on their way to *Parthia*, and were now, by his orders, returning to *Italy*. *Octavius*, on his ſide, ſent alſo ſome of his adherents, with money, to engage them to prefer his ſervice to *Antony*'s, while he himſelf went into *Campania*, to ſollicit the veterans diſtributed in the colonies about *Capua*. Thoſe of *Calatia* and *Caſilinum* immediately joined him, to the number of 1000, to each of whom he diſtributed 500 denarii: Theſe were afterwards called *Evocati*. *Antony* was not ſo well received at *Brunduſium*, where he arrived the *8th* of *October*: For the ſoldiers, diſcontented with his behaviour towards the Conſpirators, received him without any ſigns of joy, and followed him in ſilence to his tribunal, to hear what he had to ſay for himſelf. He began by reproaching them with their ingratitude, in not being ſenſible of their obligations to him, who, inſtead of ſending them upon an expedition to *Parthia*, brought them into *Italy*; but when he came to the point, and offered them only 100 denarii, whilſt *Octavius* gave five times as much to thoſe who followed him, they all left his tri-

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Ep. Fam. xii. 23.

Cic. ibid.

Vell. Pat. ii. 6. App. l. 3. p. 543, 546, et 558. Dio, l. 45.

About 181.

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

tribunal. This affront put him into ſuch a rage, that, calling together the Centurions, whom he ſuſpected to be the authors of their diſaffection, he ordered them to be maſſacred in his own lodgings, while he and his wife *Fulvia* ſtood calmly looking on. *Octavius*'s emiſſaries greatly profited by this mad behaviour, and ſpread among the ſoldiers billets in which they compared the uſage they had met with from *Cæſar*, and what they might expect from his ſon and heir, with this treatment of *Antony*. All he could do by his promiſes and threats was to engage the legion of the *Alaudæ* [k] to follow him: The other three, without taking his money or giving him any mark of affection, took their route along the *Adriatic* coaſt, without declaring yet for any ſide.

Philipp. iii. et v. App. p. 651.

Antony ſtaid in thoſe parts till the end of *October*. *Octavius*, on his ſide, was very active in ſolliciting the veterans in all the colonies, and was equally preſſing to gain the Republicans over to his intereſt, and particularly *Cicero*, by

[k] This legion was raiſed by *J. Cæſar* and compoſed of the natives of *Gaul* armed and diſciplined after the *Roman* manner, to which he gave the freedom of *Rome*. He called it by a *Gallic* name *Alaudæ*; which ſignifies a kind of lark or little bird with a tuft or creſt riſing upon its head: In imitation of which this legion wore a creſt of feathers on the helmet; from which origin the word was adopted into the *Latin* tongue. *Antony*, out of compliment to theſe troops, and to aſſure himſelf of their fidelity, had lately made a *judiciary law*, by which he erected a third claſe of Judges, to be drawn from the officers of this legion, and added to the other two of *Senators* and *Knights*; for which *Cicero* often reproaches him as a moſt infamous proſtitution of the dignity of the Republic. *Philipp.* i. 8. *Middl. p.* 325.

whoſe

whoſe influence he hoped to gain the others, offering to be their head againſt *Antony*. He wrote, therefore, letter after letter to *Cicero* [1] to aſſure

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conf.

[1] "I had two letters the ſame day from *Octavius*; he "preſſes me to come immediately to *Rome*; is reſolved, he "ſays, to do nothing without the Senate.—I tell him that "there can be no Senate till the 1*ſt* of *January*, which I "take to be true. He adds alſo: *Nor without my advice.* In "a word, he urges: I hang back: I can not truſt his age; "do not know his real intentions; will do nothing with-"out *Panſa*; am afraid that *Antony* may prove too ſtrong "for him; and therefore unwilling to ſtir from the ſea; yet "would not have any thing vigorous done without me. *Var-"ro does not like the conduct of the boy*, but I do. He has firm "troops, and may join with *D. Brutus*: What he does he "does openly; muſters his troops at *Capua*; pays them; "we ſhall have a war, I ſee, inſtantly." *Ad Att.* xvi. 9.

"I have letters every day from *Octavius*, to undertake his "affairs; to come to him at *Capua*; to ſave the State a ſe-"cond time: He reſolves to come directly to *Rome*.

"Urg'd to the fight, 'tis ſhameful to refuſe,
"Whilſt fear yet prompts the ſafer part to chuſe."

Hom. Il. vii.

"He has hitherto acted, and acts ſtill with vigour, and will "come to *Rome* with a great force. Yet he is but a boy: He "thinks the Senate may be called immediately: But who "will come? or, if they do, who, in this uncertainty of affairs, "will declare againſt *Antony?* He will be a good guard to us "on the 1*ſt* of *January*; or it may come, perhaps, to "blows before. The great towns favour the boy ſtrangely—"They flock to him from all parts, and exhort him to proceed: "*Could you ever have thought it?*" Ibid. 11. They were not therefore ſo much in the intereſt of the Conſpirators, as *Cicero* ſometimes affirms.

In the hurry of all theſe politics, he was proſecuting his ſtudies ſtill with his uſual application; and, beſides the *ſecond Phi-*

A. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

aſſure him of his good diſpoſitions, and to aſk his advice, whether he ſhould advance to *Rome*, before *Antony*'s return, with 3000 veterans, or keep the poſt of *Capua* and oppoſe his progreſs there; or go to the *Macedonian* legions, who were marching along the *Adriatic* ſea, and who, he hoped, were in his intereſt. *Cicero* adviſed him to march to *Rome*, where he was likely to have the lower people on his ſide. He did ſo, and, being produced in the *Roſtra* by the Tribune *Canutius*, made a ſpeech againſt *Antony*, declaring that he came to deliver the Republic from his oppreſſion: He nevertheleſs let drop ſome expreſſions which greatly ſtartled the Republicans: For, ſtretching out his hand to *Cæſar*'s ſtatue, he made uſe of this oath: *So may I arrive at the honours of my father.* He did not think proper to wait *Antony*'s return, but left the city to join the reſt of his ſoldiers.

Antony, in his way back to *Rome*, marched with colours diſplayed, and raiſed contributions in all the great towns: He entered the city at the head of his legion, and poſted it about his own houſe, giving the word of command, and obliging them to do duty as in a camp. He publiſhed at the ſame time ſeveral fierce and threatening edicts, in which he gave *Octavius* the name of *Spartacus*;

Middl. p. 329.

Philippic already mentioned, now finiſhed his book *of Offices*, or *the Duties of man*, for the uſe of his ſon. He now alſo drew up, as it is thought, his *Stoical Paradoxes* or an illuſtration of the peculiar doctrines of that ſect, from the examples and characters of their own countrymen, which he addreſſed to *Brutus*. Middl. p. 327.

reproach-

reproached him with the ignobleneſs of his birth; charged *Cicero* with being the author of all his councils; abuſed young *Quintus* as a perfidious wretch, who had offered to kill both his father and uncle; forbad three of the Tribunes, under pain of death, to appear in the Senate; *Q. Caſſius*, the brother of the Conſpirator, *Carfulenus*, and *Canutius*. In this humour he ſummoned the Senate on the 24*th* of *November*, with ſevere threats to thoſe who ſhould abſent themſelves; yet he himſelf neglected to come, and adjourned it by edict till the 28*th*. But, while all people were in expectation of ſome extraordinary decrees from him, and of one particularly, which he had prepared, *to declare young Cæſar a public enemy*; he happened to receive the news that two of the legions from *Brunduſium*, *the fourth*, and that called *the Martial*, had actually declared for *Octavius*, and had poſted themſelves at *Alba* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. This ſhocked him ſo much, that, inſtead of proſecuting what he had projected, he only huddled over what nobody oppoſed, the decree of a ſupplication to *Lepidus*; and the ſame evening, after he had diſtributed to his friends, by a pretended allotment, the ſeveral provinces of the Empire, which few or none of them durſt accept from ſo precarious a title, he changed the habit of the Conſul for that of a General, and left the city with precipitation, to put himſelf at the head of his army, and poſſeſs himſelf by force of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, aſſigned to him by a pretended law of the People, againſt the will of the Senate.

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Philipp. iii. ix. et viii.

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 708 Conſ.

Middl. p. 330.

On the news of his retreat, *Cicero* preſently quitted his books and the country, and ſet out towards *Rome*. He ſeemed to be called by the voice of the Republic, to take the reins once more into his hands. The field was now open to him; there was not a Conſul, and ſcarce a ſingle Prætor in the city, nor any troops from which he could apprehend danger. He arrived on the *9th* of *December*, and immediately conferred with *Panſa* (for *Hirtius* lay very ill) about the meaſures proper to be taken on their approaching entrance into the conſulſhip. Before his leaving the country, *Oppius* had been with him to preſs him again to undertake the affairs of *Octavius* and the protection of his troops: But his anſwer was, "that he could not conſent to it, unleſs he "were firſt aſſured, that *Octavius* would not on-"ly be no enemy, but even a friend to *Brutus*; "that he could be of no ſervice to *Octavius* till the "*1ſt* of *January*, and there would be an oppor-"tunity before that time of trying *Octavius*'s diſ-"poſition in the caſe of *Caſca*, who had been "named by *Cæſar* to the tribunate, and was to "enter upon it on the *10th* of *December*: For, "if *Octavius* did not oppoſe or diſturb his ad-"miſſion, that would be a proof of his good "intentions." *Oppius* undertook for all this on the part of *Octavius*, and *Octavius* himſelf confirmed it, and ſuffered *Caſca*, who gave the firſt blow to *Cæſar*, to enter quietly into his office. The Tribunes, in the mean time, in the abſence of the ſuperior magiſtrates, called a meeting of the Senate on the *19th*. *Cicero* had reſolved not

Ad Att. xvi. 15.

to

to appear there any more till he ſhould be ſupported by the new Conſuls; but happening to receive, the day before, the edict of *D. Brutus*, by which he prohibited *Antony* the entrance of his province, and declared that he would defend it againſt him by force, and preſerve it in its duty to the Senate, he thought it neceſſary for the public ſervice and the preſent encouragement of *Brutus*, to procure, as ſoon as poſſible, ſome public declaration in his favour: He went, therefore, to the Senate very early, which, being known to the other Senators, preſently drew together a full houſe, in expectation of hearing his ſentiments in ſo nice and critical a ſituation of the public affairs. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

The Senate being aſſembled, the Tribunes acquainted them, that the buſineſs of that meeting was to provide a guard for the ſecurity of the new Conſuls, and the protection of the Senate, in the freedom of their debates; but that they gave a liberty withal of taking *the whole State of the Republic* into conſideration. Upon this *Cicero* opened the debate, and repreſented to them "the danger of their preſent condition, and the "neceſſity of ſpeedy and reſolute councils a-"gainſt an enemy, who loſt no time in attempt-"ing their ruin. That they had been ruined in-"deed before, had it not been for the courage "and virtue of young *Cæſar*, who, contrary to "all expectation, and without being even deſired "to do what no man thought poſſible for him "to do, had, by his private authority and ex-"pence, raiſed a ſtrong army of veterans, and

"baf-

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

" baffled the deſigns of *Antony*: That if *Antony*
" had ſucceeded at *Brunduſium*, and prevailed
" with the legions to follow him, he would have
" filled the city at his return with blood and
" ſlaughter: That it was their part to authoriſe
" and confirm what *Cæſar* had done, and to
" impower him to do more, by employing his
" troops in the farther ſervice of the State; and
" to make a ſpecial proviſion alſo for the two
" legions which declared for him againſt *Antony*.
" As to *D. Brutus*, who had promiſed by edict to
" preſerve *Gaul* in the obedience of the Senate,
" that he was a citizen born for the good of the
" Republic; the imitator of his anceſtors; nay,
" had even exceeded their merit: That it was ne-
" ceſſary therefore to confirm by public autho-
" rity what *Brutus* had done by private, in pre-
" ſerving the province of *Gaul*, the flower of *Ita-*
" *ly*, and the bulwark of the empire. Then, af-
" ter largely inveighing againſt *Antony*'s charac-
" ter, and enumerating particularly all his cruel-
" ties and violences, he exhorts them, in a pa-
" thetic manner, to act with courage in the de-
" fence of the Republic, or die bravely in the
" attempt: That now was the time either to re-
" cover their liberty, or to live for ever ſlaves:
" That if the fatal day was come, and *Rome* was
" deſtined to periſh, it would be a ſhame for them,
" the Governors of the world, not to fall with as
" much courage as gladiators were uſed to do,
" and die with dignity rather than live with diſ-
" grace. He puts them in mind of the many
" advantages which they had towards encou-
" raging

" raging their hopes and reſolution: The body of Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ
" the people alert and eager in the cauſe; young
" *Cæſar* in the guard of the city; *Brutus* of
" *Gaul*; two Conſuls of the greateſt prudence,
" virtue, concord between themſelves; who had
" been meditating nothing elſe, for many months
" paſt, but the public tranquillity: To all which
" he promiſes his own attention and vigilance
" both day and night for their ſafety. On the
" whole, therefore, he gives his vote and opini-
" on that the new Conſuls *C. Panſa* and *A. Hir-*
" *tius* ſhould take care that the Senate may meet
" with ſecurity on the *1ſt* of *January*: That *D.*
" *Brutus*, Emperor and Conſul elect, had me-
" rited greatly of the Republic, by defending the
" authority and the liberty of the Senate and
" People of *Rome:* That his army, the towns
" and colonies of his province, ſhould be pub-
" licly thanked and praiſed for their fidelity to
" him: That it ſhould be decreed of the laſt con-
" ſequence to the Republic, that *D. Brutus* and
" *L. Plancus* (who commanded the farther *Gaul*)
" Emperor and Conſul elect, as well as all o-
" thers, who had the command of provinces,
" ſhould keep them in their duty to the Senate,
" till ſucceſſors were appointed by the Senate:
" And ſince, by the pains, virtue, and conduct
" of young *Cæſar*, and the aſſiſtance of the ve-
" teran ſoldiers who followed him, the Republic
" had been delivered, and was ſtill defended from
" the greateſt dangers; and ſince the *Martial* and
" fourth legions, under that excellent citizen
" and Quæſtor *Egnatuleius*, had voluntarily decla-

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conf.

"red for the authority of the Senate, and the li-
"berty of the people; that the Senate ſhould
"take ſpecial care that due honours and thanks
"be paid to them for their eminent ſervices:
"And that the new Conſuls, on their entrance
"into office, ſhould make it their firſt buſineſs
"to ſee all this executed in proper form." To all this the Houſe unanimouſly agreed, and ordered a decree to be drawn conformably to his opinion.

From the Senate he paſſed directly to the Forum, and, in a ſpeech to the people, gave an account of what had paſſed. Thoſe ſpeeches, which ſtand the *third* and *fourth* in the order of his *Philippics*, were extremely well received by the Senate and People; ſpeaking afterwards of the latter of them to the ſame People, he ſays: *If that day had put an end to my life, I had reaped ſufficient fruit from it, when you all, with one mind and voice, cried out, that I had twice ſaved the Republic.* As he had now broken all meaſures with *Antony*, beyond the poſſibility of a reconciliation, ſo he publiſhed, probably, about this time, his ſecond *Philippic*, which had hitherto been communicated only to a few friends.

Philipp. vi. 2.

The ſhort remainder of this turbulent year was ſpent in preparing arms and troops for the guard of the new Conſuls and the defence of the State: And the new levies were carried on with the greater diligence, from the certain accounts that were brought to *Rome* that *Antony* was actually beſieging *Mutina*, into which *Brutus*, unable to oppoſe him in the field, had thrown himſelf

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

ſelf with all his forces, as the ſtrongeſt town of his province, and the beſt provided to ſuſtain a ſiege. Young *Cæſar*, in the mean while, without expecting the orders of the Senate, but with the advice of *Cicero*, by which he pretended to govern himſelf in every ſtep, marched out of *Rome* at the head of his troops, and followed *Antony* into the province; in order to obſerve his motions, and take all occaſions of diſtreſſing him; as well as to encourage *Brutus* to defend himſelf with vigour till the Conſuls could bring up the grand army, which they were preparing for his relief.

CHAP. XIII.

The Senate ſends an embaſſy to Antony *with peremptory orders to raiſe the ſiege of* Mutina, *and* Hirtius *marches at the head of an army to join* Octavius. Antony *refuſes to comply with the orders of the Senate, and his propoſals are reciprocally rejected: It is voted that there is a tumult: That* Antony *is an adverſary, and that the town ſhall take the Sagum.* M. Brutus's *ſucceſs in* Macedonia. Trebonius *ſurpriſed and killed by* Dolabella *in* Aſia, *who is voted a public enemy by the Senate.* Caſſius *makes himſelf maſter of* Syria *and all the forces in the Eaſt.* Lepidus *exhorts the Senate to pacific meaſures; and* Antony *endeavours to draw off the Conſuls and* Octavius *from the intereſt of* Cicero *and his party without effect. Two ſucceſſive battles in*

A. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ.

which Antony *is defeated, and both Conſuls loſe their lives.*

A. HIRTIUS,
C. VIBIUS PANSA, } Conſuls.

THE two Conſuls were no ſooner inaugurated, than the Senate aſſembled to conſider of the preſent ſtate of the Republic, in order to perfect what had been reſolved upon at their laſt meeting, and to contrive ſome farther means for the ſecurity of the public tranquillity. They both ſpoke with great ſpirit and firmneſs, offering themſelves as leaders, in aſſerting the liberty of their country, and exhorting the aſſembly to courage and reſolution in the defence of ſo good a cauſe [m], and, when they had done, they called upon *Q. Fufius Calenus*, to deliver his ſentiments the firſt. He had been Conſul four years before, and was father-in law to *Panſa*, which, by cuſtom, was a ſufficient ground for paying him that compliment. *Calenus's* opinion was, *that, before they proceeded to acts of hoſtility, they ſhould ſend an embaſſy to Antony, to admoniſh him to deſiſt from his attempt upon Gaul, and ſubmit to the authority of the Senate.* *Piſo* and ſeveral others were of the ſame mind, alledging it to be unjuſt and cruel to condemn a man, till they had firſt heard what he had to ſay for himſelf.

[m] Ut oratio conſulum animum meum erexit, ſpemque attulit non modo ſalutis conſervandæ verum etiam dignitatis priſtinæ recuperandæ. *Phil.* v. 1.

But

But *Cicero*, in a ſpeech which makes his fifth *Philippic*, oppoſed this motion with great warmth, "not only as vain and fooliſh, but dangerous "and pernicious: He declared it diſhonourable "to treat with any one who was in arms againſt "his country, until he laid them down, and ſued "for peace, in which caſe no man would be more "moderate or equitable than himſelf: That they "had in effect proclaimed him an enemy alrea-"dy, and had nothing left but to confirm it by "decree. That, whatever was the purpoſe of "their embaſſy or meſſage, it would ſignify no-"thing; if, to beg him to be quiet, he would "deſpiſe it; if, to command him, he would not "obey it.—That, without any poſſible good, it "would be a certain damage; would neceſſarily "create delay, and obſtruction to the operations "of the war; check the zeal of the army, "damp the ſpirits of the people, whom they "now ſaw ſo briſk and eager in the cauſe. "That his opinion therefore was to make no "farther mention of an embaſſy, but to enter "inſtantly into action; that there ſhould be a "ceſſation of all civil buſineſs; a public tumult "proclaimed; the ſhops ſhut up; and that, in-"ſtead of their uſual gown, they ſhould all put "on the *Sagum*, or habit of war; and that levies "of ſoldiers ſhould be made in *Rome*, and through "*Italy*, without any exception of privilege or diſ-"miſſion from ſervice.—That the very fame of "this vigour would reſtrain the madneſs of *An-*"*tony*, and let the world ſee that the caſe was "not, as he pretended, *a ſtruggle only of contending*

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf.

Phil. v. 1, 2, 3.

V. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ.

"*parties, but a real war againſt the Common-*
"*wealth.*—That the whole Republic ſhould be
"committed to the Conſuls, to take care that it
"received no detriment; and that pardon ſhould
"be offered to thoſe of *Antony*'s army, who
"ſhould return to their duty before the *1ſt of*
"*February.*"—The Conſuls favoured the opinion of *Calenus*, but did not ſuffer the queſtion to be put to the vote, ſeeing a clear majority on the ſide of *Cicero* *. The debate, being continued till night, was adjourned to the next morning, and kept up with the ſame warmth for three days ſucceſſively. The firmneſs of *Antony*'s friends, and the reaſonableneſs of the propoſal, prevailed at laſt for *an embaſſy*; and three Conſular Senators were nominated to it, *S. Sulpitius*, *L. Piſo*, and *L. Philippus*. But their commiſſion was ſtrictly limited, and drawn up by *Cicero* himſelf; giving them no power to treat with *Antony*, but only to carry to him *the peremptory commands of the Senate* to quit the ſiege of *Mutina*, and to deſiſt from all hoſtilities in *Gaul*. They had inſtructions likewiſe, after the delivery of their meſſage, to ſpeak with *D. Brutus* in *Mutina*, and ſignify to him and his army, that the Senate and people had a grateful ſenſe of their ſervices, which would one day be a great honour to them. The unuſual length of theſe debates greatly raiſed the curioſity of the city, and drew the whole body of the people into the Forum,

* *Appian* ſays, that *Salvius*, one of the Tribunes, interpoſed his negative.

to

to expect the iſſue; where they called upon *Cicero*, with one voice, to come and give them an account of the delirations. He went therefore directly from the Senate into the Roſtra, being produced by *Apuleius*, the Tribune, and pronounced his *ſixth Philippic*. His ſeventh he pronounced in the Senate, during the embaſſy, to lay open the intrigues of *Calenus*, who was endeavouring to obviate the offence which might be given by *Antony*'s refuſal to comply with what was injoined; contriving ſpecious anſwers for him, and repreſenting them as a reaſonable ground of an accommodation, in hopes to cool the ardour of the city for the proſecution of the war. He kept a conſtant correſpondence with *Antony*, and took care to publiſh ſuch of his letters as were proper to depreſs the hopes and courage of his adverſaries, and keep up the ſpirits of his friends. Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

The Conſuls in the mean while were taking care that the expectation of the effect of the embaſſy ſhould not ſuperſede their preparations for war; and agreed between themſelves, that one of them ſhould march immediately to *Gaul* with the troops which were already provided, and the other ſtay behind to perfect the new levies, which were carried on with great ſucceſs both in the city and the country: For *Cicero* tells us, that all the capital towns of *Italy* were vying with each other in voluntary contributions of money and ſoldiers; and in decrees of infamy and diſgrace to thoſe who refuſed to liſt themſelves into the public ſervice. The firſt part fell by lot to *Hirtius*; Fp. Fam. xi. 8. Phil. vii. 8, 9.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf.

who, though but lately recovered from a dangerous diſorder, marched without loſs of time at the head of a brave army; and particularly of the two legions, the *Martial* and the *fourth*, which were eſteemed the flower and ſtrength of the whole, and now put themſelves under the command and auſpices of the Conſul: And this ſeems to prove that there was a good underſtanding between *Hirtius* and *Octavius*; and that the laſt could rely upon the Conſul [n]. With theſe, in conjunction with *Octavius*, he hoped to obſtruct all the deſigns of *Antony*, and prevent his gaining any advantage againſt *Decimus*, till *Panſa* could join them; which would make them ſuperior in force, and enable them to give him battle, with good aſſurance of victory. He contented himſelf, in the mean while, with diſpoſſeſſing *Antony* of ſome of his poſts, and diſtreſſing him, by ſtraitening his quarters and opportunities of forage; in which he had ſome ſucceſs, as he ſignified in a letter to his collegue *Panſa*, which was communicated to the Senate: "I have "poſſeſſed myſelf, ſays he, of *Claterna*, and dri- "ven out *Antony*'s garriſon; his horſe were rout- "ed in the action, and ſome of them ſlain."

Philip. viii. 2.

Middl. p. 352.

The ambaſſadors returned about the beginning of *February*, having been retarded, ſomewhat longer than they intended, by the death of *S. Sulpicius*. They reported to the Senate, that

[n] *Cicero*, in one of his letters to *Brutus*, ſays that the conduct of *Octavius* was truer to the intereſt of the ſtate than that of *Hirtius*'s; which only proves that *Octavius* was a better diſſembler.

Antony

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

Antony refuſed to perform any part of what was required, and would not ſuffer them to ſpeak with *Brutus*, but continued to batter the town with great fury in their preſence: And they laid before the aſſembly ſome conditions of his own, which, contrary to their inſtructions, they were weak enough to receive from him*. The purport of them was, "that the Senate ſhould aſ-"ſign lands and rewards to all his troops, and "confirm all the other grants which he and *Do-*"*labella* had made in their conſulſhip; that all "his decrees from *Cæſar*'s books and papers "ſhould ſtand firm; that no account ſhould be "demanded of the money taken from the temple "of *Opis*; nor any inquiry made into the con-"duct of the ſeven Commiſſioners created to di-"vide the lands to the veteran ſoldiers; and that "his judiciary law ſhould not be repealed: On "theſe terms he offered to give up *Ciſalpine Gaul*,

* *Appian* tells us, that the Commiſſioners, aſhamed to have brought *Antony* ſo inſolent a command, delivered it into his hands without ſaying a word. That *Antony* at ſight of it fell into a rage, and uttered many violent threats againſt the Senate, and *Cicero* in particular; telling the deputies that it amazed him that *Cæſar*, who had done ſuch mighty ſervices to the *Roman* Empire, ſhould be eſteemed a tyrant, and that men ſhould not have the ſame opinion of *Cicero*, who, having been made a priſoner of war and pardoned, now ſided with the murderers of his merciful conqueror; favouring *Deci-mus*, whom he a little before deteſted; and ſupporting in the government of *Gaul* the man named by the pretended tyrant againſt the Conſul named by the people; that he had conſented to the amneſty for the ſake of *two men*, whom he reſpected; but that he would annul that indemnity, with which they were not content.

"pro-

U.R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ.

"provided that he might have the greater "*Gaul* in exchange for five years, with an army "of ſix legions, to be completed out of the "troops of *D. Brutus.*" This report contributed greatly towards bringing the houſe into *Cicero*'s ſentiments; but, contrary to expectation, he found *Calenus*'s party ſtill ſtrong enough to give him much trouble, and even to carry ſome points againſt him, all tending to ſoften the rigour of his motions, and to give them a favourable turn towards *Antony*. He moved the Senate to decree that *a war or rebellion was actually commenced*; they carried it for *a tumult*: He urged them to *declare Antony an enemy*; they carried it for the ſofter term of an *adverſary*: He propoſed, that all perſons ſhould be prohibited from going to *Antony*; they excepted *Varius Cotyla*, one of his Lieutenants, who was then in the Senate, taking notes of every thing that paſſed. In theſe votes *Panſa* himſelf and all the *Conſular Senators* concurred; even *L. Cæſar*, who, though a true friend to liberty, yet, being *Antony*'s uncle, thought himſelf obliged by decency to vote on the milder ſide. But *Cicero*, in his turn, eaſily threw out, what was warmly preſſed on the other ſide, *the propoſal of a ſecond embaſſy*; and carried likewiſe the main queſtion, of requiring the citizens to change their ordinary gown for the *ſagum, or habit of war*; by which they decreed the thing, while they rejected the name. *Cicero*, though all Conſular Senators were excuſed on theſe occaſions from changing their habit, put it on immediately. In a letter to *Caſſius*, he gives

Phil. xii. 7.

Philip. viii. 8, 10.

Ep. Fam. xii. 4. Melm. xiii. 6.

the

the following ſhort account of the ſtate of things at this time. "We have excellent Conſuls, but "moſt ſhameful Conſulars: A brave Senate, but "the lower they are in dignity, the braver: No-"thing firmer and better than the people, and "all *Italy* univerſally: But nothing more deteſta-"ble and infamous than our ambaſſadors *Philip* "and *Piſo*; who, when ſent only to carry the or-"ders of the Senate to *Antony*, none of which he "would comply with, brought back of their "own accord intolerable demands from him; "wherefore all the world now flock about me, and "I am grown popular in a ſalutary cauſe." The Senate met again the next day to draw into form and perfect what had been reſolved in the preceding debate, and *Cicero* took the occaſion to expoſtulate with them for their lenity the day before, which is the ſubject of his *8th Philippic*. The ninth was pronounced the day following, the Senate being aſſembled to deliberate on the proper honours to be decreed to the memory of *Sulpicius*, who died upon the embaſſy: *Cicero*, after ſpeaking largely in his praiſe, adviſed to pay him all the honours which had ever been paid to any who had loſt their lives in the ſervice of their country; *a public funeral, ſepulchre, and ſtatue*. The ſtatue was objected to by *Servilius*, but *Cicero* carried it; and we are told by a writer of the *third century*, that it remained to his time in the *Roſtra of Auguſtus* [p].

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ.

Pomponius de origine juris.

[p] He was eſteemed the ableſt lawyer in *Rome*, and left behind him near a hundred and eighty books on nice and difficult queſtions of the law. Digeſt. l. i. tit. 2. parag. 43.

Y.R. 710. Ref. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

The Senate had heard nothing of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* from the time of their leaving *Italy*, till *Brutus* now ſent public letters to the *Conſuls*, giving a particular account of his ſucceſs againſt *Antony*'s brother *Caius*, in ſecuring *Macedonia*, *Illyricum*, and *Greece*, with all the ſeveral armies in thoſe countries, to the intereſts of the Republic. *Brutus*, when he left *Italy*, ſailed directly for *Athens*; where he ſpent ſome time in concerting meaſures how to accompliſh this deſign [q]. Here he gathered about him all the young Nobility and Gentry of *Rome*, who on account of their education had been ſent to this celebrated ſchool of learning; and among the reſt *M. Cicero*, whom he made one of his Lieutenants, tho' he was but twenty years old, and of whom he gives in his public and private letters a very great character [r]. Many of *Pompey*'s ſoldiers, who had fought at *Pharſalia*, and were diſperſed in the country, readily joined a General who defended the ſame cauſe. A legion commanded by *L. Piſo*, one of *C. Antony*'s Lieutenants, ſurrendered itſelf to young *Cicero*. Some ſtragglers of *Dolabella*'s army, and two ſeparate bodies of his horſe in their march through *Theſſaly* and *Macedonia*, deſerted

[q] *Dio*, l. 47, tells us, that he and *Caſſius* were received at *Athens* with all imaginable honours, and that the *Athenians* erected ſtatues to them, which they placed near thoſe of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, who had formerly delivered their ſtate from tyranny.

[r] He took alſo into his ſervice young *Horace*, whoſe father, though no more than a freedman and a collector of taxes by profeſſion, gave him an equal education with the Senators children: He ſerved in the rank of military Tribune.

their

their leaders, and came over to him; but what chiefly ſtrengthened him was the acceſſion of *Q. Hortenſius*, the Proconſul of *Macedonia*; who, inſtead of keeping the province for *Antony*'s brother, delivered it up to *Brutus* together with the command of all the troops. Theſe forces were ſoon conſiderably augmented by three legions, under the command of *Vatinius*, who had been ſent by *Cæſar* into *Illyricum* to ſuppreſs ſome commotions there. But the people of the country, upon the news of *Cæſar*'s death, attacked him, and forced him to retire to *Dyrrhachium*. During theſe tranſactions, *C. Antonius* arrived at *Apollonia*, with ſeven cohorts, and ſet out immediately to ſecure the troops under *Vatinius*, but *Brutus* got there before him; and *Vatinius*, knowing the troops to be well affected to his enemy, opened the gates, and delivered them up to him. *Brutus*'s [s] letters informed the Conſuls of

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ.

[s] Brutus C. Antonio fratri M. Antonii in Macedonia, Vatinioque circa Dyrrhachium volentes legiones extorſerat; ſed Antonium bello laceſſierat; Vatinium dignatione obruerat; cum & Brutus cui libet ducum præferendus videretur, et Vatinius nulli nomini non eſſet poſtferendus. *Vell. Pat.* ii. 69. This is the laſt time we hear any thing of *Vatinius*: He died probably ſoon after. The ſevere cenſure of *Paterculus* is grounded probably on the abuſe contained in *Cicero*'s invective againſt him, where he ſays, *no one could look upon him without a ſigh, or ſpeak of him without execration; that he was the dread of his neighbours, the diſgrace of his kindred, and the utter abhorrence of the public in general.* At leaſt his behaviour both in the city and the field ſhew him to have been a man of ſpirit and parts; and perhaps his moral character was not ſo bad as the orator has painted it: The ſame

Y.R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf.

Middl. p. 364.

of this ſucceſs, and he promiſed ſoon to give a good account of *Antony* himſelf.

Panſa no ſooner received the letters, than he ſummoned the Senate to acquaint them with the contents. After they were read, the Conſul ſpoke largely *in the praiſes of Brutus; extolled his conduct and ſervices; and moved that public honours and thanks ſhould be decreed to him:* And then, according to his cuſtom, called upon his father-in-law *Calenus* to declare his ſentiments the firſt, who, in a premeditated ſpeech delivered from writing, acknowledged "*Brutus*'s letters to be "*well* and *properly drawn*; but, ſince what he "had done was done without any commiſ-"ſion and public authority, that he ſhould be "required to deliver up his forces to the orders "of the Senate, or the proper Governors of the "provinces." *Cicero* ſpoke next, and pronounced his *tenth Philippic*, which is an expoſtulation with *Calenus*, on account of his enmity to the *Brutus's*, and a panegyric upon the whole conduct of *M. Brutus*, which he concluded by propoſing the following decree: "Whereas, by the "pains, counſel, induſtry, and virtue of *Q. Cæ-*

ſame *Cicero*, in a letter to *Vatinius*, Fam. v. 11, writes in the following ſtrain:

"I am by no means ſurpriſed to find that you are ſen-"ſible of my ſervices; on the contrary, I perfectly well know, "and you have upon all occaſions declared, that no man ever "poſſeſſed a more grateful heart .... and there is no em-"ployment in which I can be engaged upon your ac-"count, that I ſhall not think both eaſy and *honourable*."

"*pio*

" *pio Brutus* [t], Proconſul, in the utmoſt diſtreſs " of the Republic, the province of *Macedonia*, " *Illyricum*, and *Greece*, with all their legions, " armies, horſe, are now in the power of the Con- " ſuls, Senate, and People of *Rome*; that *Q. Cæpio* " *Brutus*, Proconſul, has acted therein well, and " for the good of the Republic; agreeably to his " character, the dignity of his anceſtors, and to " his uſual manner of ſerving the Commonwealth; " and that his conduct is, and ever will be, accep- " table to the Senate and People of *Rome*. That " *Q. Cæpio Brutus*, Proconſul, be ordered to pro- " tect, guard, and defend the province of *Mace-* " *donia*, *Illyricum*, and all *Greece*, and com- " mand that army which he himſelf has raiſed: " That, whatever money he wants for military " ſervice, he may uſe and take it from any part " of the public revenues where it can be beſt rai- " ſed; or borrow it where he thinks proper; and " impoſe contributions of grain and forage; and " take care to draw all his troops as near *Italy* as " poſſible. And whereas it appears, by the letter " of *Q. Cæpio Brutus*, Proconſul, that the public " ſervice has been greatly advanced by the en- " deavours and virtue of *Q. Hortenſius*, Procon- " ſul; and that he concerted all his meaſures with " *Q. Cæpio Brutus*, Proconſul, to the great bene- " fit of the Commonwealth; that *Q. Hortenſius*, " Proconſul, has acted therein rightly, regularly,

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

[t] It appears that *M. Brutus* had been lately adopted by his mother's brother, *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, whoſe name, according to cuſtom, he now aſſumed, with the poſſeſſion of his uncle's eſtate.

and

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" and for the public good: And it is the will of " the Senate, that *Q. Hortenſius*, Proconſul, with " his Quæſtors, Proquæſtors, and Lieutenants, " hold the province of *Macedonia*, till a ſucceſſor " be appointed by the Senate[u]."

Though *Brutus* intimates nothing in his public letters but what was proſperous and encouraging, yet, in his private accounts to *Cicero*, he ſignified a great want of *money and recruits*; and begged to be ſupplied with both from *Italy*, eſpecially with recruits; either by a vote of the Senate, or, if that could not be had, by ſome ſecret management, without the privity of *Panſa*; to which *Cicero* anſwered, " You tell me that you " want two neceſſary things, recruits and mo- " ney: It is difficult to help you. I know no o- " ther way of raiſing money, which can be of uſe " to you, but what the Senate has decreed of bor- " rowing from the cities. As to recruits, I do " not ſee what can be done: For *Panſa* is ſo far " from granting any ſhare of his army or recruits

Ad Brut. ii. 6.

[u] *Cicero* ſent this ſpeech to *Brutus*, with that alſo which he made on *the 1ſt of January*; of which *Brutus* ſays in anſwer to him, " I have read your two orations: You expect now, " without doubt, that I ſhould praiſe them: I am at a loſs " what to praiſe the moſt in them, your courage, or your " abilities: I allow you now in earneſt to call them *Philip-* " *pics*, as you intimated jocoſely in a former letter." Thus the name of *Philippics*, which ſeems to have been thrown out at firſt in gaiety and jeſt only, being taken up and propagated by his friends, became at laſt the fixed and ſtanding title of theſe orations; which yet, for ſeveral ages, were called indifferently either *Philippics*, or *Antonians*. Middl. p. 369.

" to

" to you, that *he is even uneaſy to ſee ſo many volun-* Y. R. 716. Bef. Conf. 42. 409 Conf.
" *teers going over to you:* His reaſon, I take it, is,
" that he thinks no forces too great for the de-
" mands of our affairs in *Italy:* For, as to what
" many ſuſpect *that he has no mind to ſee you*
" *ſtrong*, I have no ſuſpicion of it."

But there came news of a different kind, a- Middl p. 373.
bout the ſame time, to *Rome*, of *Dolabella*'s ſuc-
ceſsful exploits in *Aſia*. He left the city, as it is
ſaid above, before the expiration of his conſul-
ſhip, to poſſeſs himſelf of *Syria*, which had been
allotted to him by *Antony*'s management: And,
taking his way through *Greece* and *Macedonia*, to
gather what money and troops he could raiſe in
thoſe countries, he paſſed over into *Aſia*, in
hopes of inducing that province to abandon
Trebonius and declare for him: Having ſent his
emiſſaries, therefore, before him to prepare for
his reception, he arrived before *Smyrna*, where
Trebonius reſided, without any ſhew of hoſtility,
or forces ſufficient to give any great alarm, pre-
tending to deſire nothing more than a free paſſage
through the country to his own province. *Tre-*
bonius refuſed to admit him into the town; but
conſented to ſupply him with refreſhments with-
out the gates; where many civilities paſſed be-
tween them, with great profeſſions on *Dolabel-*
la's part of amity and friendſhip to *Trebonius*,
who promiſed, in his turn, that, if *Dolabella*
would depart quietly from *Smyrna*, he ſhould be
received into *Epheſus*, in order to paſs forward to-
wards *Syria*. To this *Dolabella* ſeemingly agreed;
and, finding it impracticable to take *Smyrna* by

A.R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

open force, contrived to ſurpriſe it by ſtratagem: Embracing therefore *Trebonius*'s offer, he ſet forward towards *Epheſus*; but, after he had marched ſeveral miles, and *Trebonius*'s men, who were ſent after to obſerve him, were retired; he turned back inſtantly in the night, and, arriving again at *Smyrna* before day, found it, as he expected, negligently guarded, and without any apprehenſion of an aſſault; ſo that his ſoldiers poſſeſſed themſelves of it without oppoſition, and ſeized *Trebonius* himſelf in his bed before he knew any thing of his danger. *Dolabella* treated him with the utmoſt cruelty; kept him two days under torture, to extort a diſcovery of all the money in his cuſtody; then ordered his head to be cut off and carried about on a ſpear; and his body to be dragged about the ſtreets and thrown into the ſea. This was the firſt blood that was ſpilt on account of *Cæſar*'s death; which was now revenged in kind upon one of the principal Conſpirators, and the only one who was of conſular rank. It had been projected, without doubt, in concert with *Antony*, to make the revenge of *Cæſar*'s death the avowed cauſe of their arms, in order to draw the veterans to their ſide, or make them unwilling at leaſt to act againſt them: And it gave a clear warning to *Brutus* and his aſſociates, what they were to expect, if their enemies prevailed, as well as a ſad preſage, to all honeſt men, of the cruel effects and mercileſs fury of the impending war.

Philipp. xi. 2, 3.

Middl. p. 375.

On the news of *Trebonius*'s death, the Senate was ſummoned by the Conſul, where *Dolabella* was

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

was unanimouſly declared *a public enemy, and his eſtate confiſcated.* *Calenus* himſelf firſt propoſed the vote, and ſaid, that, if any thing more ſevere could be thought of, he would be for it. But he moved another queſtion which greatly perplexed *Cicero*, about the choice of a General to manage the new war againſt *Dolabella*. Two opinions were propoſed; the one that *P. Servilius ſhould be ſent with an extraordinary commiſſion*; the other, that *the two Conſuls ſhould jointly proſecute the war, with the provinces of Syria and Aſia allotted to them.* This was very agreeable to *Panſa*, and puſhed therefore not only by his friends, but by all *Antony*'s party, who fancied that it would take off the attention of the Conſuls from the war of *Italy*; give *Dolabella* time to ſtrengthen himſelf in *Aſia*; raiſe a coldneſs between the Conſuls and *Cicero*, if he ventured to oppoſe it; and, above all, put a public affront upon *Caſſius*; who, by his preſence in thoſe parts, ſeemed to have the beſt pretenſion to that commiſſion. The debate continued through the firſt day without coming to any iſſue; and was adjourned to the next. In the mean time *Caſſius*'s mother-in-law, *Servilia*, and other friends, were endeavouring to prevail with *Cicero* to drop the oppoſition, for fear of alienating *Panſa*, but in vain; for he reſolved at all hazards to defend the honour of *Caſſius*, and, when the debate was renewed the next morning, exerted all his intereſt and eloquence to procure a decree in his favour, which is the purport of the *eleventh Philippic*. From the Senate he went directly to the Forum,

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42 409 Conſ.

to give the people an account of the debate, and recommend to them the intereſts of *Caſſius*: Hither *Panſa* followed him, and, to weaken the influence of his authority, declared to the citizens, that what *Cicero* contended for was againſt the will and advice of *Caſſius*'s neareſt friends and relations: And in the end the Conſul prevailed [x]. But *Caſſius* was at that time maſter of *Syria*, and at the head of eight legions, with which he ſoon put an end to *Dolabella*'s triumphs.

Ep. Fam. xii. 7 & 14.

Liv. 114. Appian, l. 3. Dio, l. 47.

Syria, after the *Alexandrian* war, had been left by *Cæſar* in the hands of *Sextus Cæſar*, a young man of his family, with one legion. The youth having loſt the affection of his ſoldiers, who probably had ſerved under *Pompey*, *Cæcilius Baſſus*, a *Roman* Knight (who as we have before mentioned, hid himſelf at *Tyre* after the battle of *Pharſalia*) undertook to diſpoſſeſs him of his government. Having gathered a ſmall force in the place of his retirement, he openly attacked *S. Cæſar*, during the *African* war; and, meeting

[x] The *ſtatue of Minerva*, which *Cicero* upon his going into exile, had dedicated in the *Capitol*, by the name of the *Guardian of the city*, was, about the end of the laſt year, thrown down and ſhattered to pieces by a tempeſt of thunder and lightning. This the later writers take notice of as ominous and portending the fall of *Cicero* himſelf: Though neither *Cicero* nor any of that time made any ſuch reflection upon it. The Senate, however, out of reſpect to him, paſſed a decree in a full Houſe, on *the 18th of March, that the ſtatue ſhould be repaired and reſtored to its place.* Ep. Fam. xii. 15. So that it was now made, by public authority, what he himſelf had deſigned it to be, a ſtanding monument to poſterity, that the ſafety of the Republic had been the conſtant object of his counſels. *Middl.* 383.

with

with a repulſe, he had recourſe to intrigues, in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that *Sextus* was murdered by his own men, who, at the ſame time, took *Baſſus* for their Chief, and put him in poſſeſſion of the province. *Baſſus* applied himſelf immediately to fortify *Apamea*, a very ſtrong city, and there formed his arſenal. *Cæſar* ſent againſt him *Antiſtius Vetus*, who beſieged him in his fortreſs, but was obliged by the *Parthians* to retire. *Statius Murcus*, who had the government of *Syria* after his prætorſhip, with three legions, did not find himſelf ſtrong enough to reduce *Baſſus*, and called to his aſſiſtance *Q. Marcius Criſpus*, Governor of *Bithynia*, with three more legions, who jointly laid ſiege to *Apamea*. Things were in this ſituation when *Caſſius* landed in thoſe parts. *Lentulus Spinther*, Quæſtor to *Trebonius*, ſupplied him with ſome men and money: And the two Governors readily yielded to him the ſix legions under their command. *Baſſus* was forced to follow their example, and open the gates of *Apamea*, his ſoldiers having ſent a deputation to *Caſſius* with a tender of their ſervices. This ſucceſs, ſo great and unexpected, was ſoon followed by another piece of good fortune. *Dolabella* had ſent his Lieutenant, *Aulus Allienus*, into *Egypt*, to demand the aſſiſtance of *Cleopatra*, who then was ſole Sovereign; having lately deſtroyed the laſt of the *Ptolemys*, her brother and huſband, by poiſon. The Queen ſent immediately a fleet to his aſſiſtance, and *Allienus* conducted by land four legions. *Caſſius*, having notice of their march,

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went and met him in *Judæa*, and obliged him to give up all his troops. Thus *Caſſius* was maſter of a ſtrong army, conſiſting of eleven legions, before the *7th* of *March*, the date of a letter to *Cicero*, giving an account of this ſucceſs.

Ep. Fam. xii. 11.

Middl. p. 383.

D. Brutus was reduced by this time to ſuch ſtraits in *Mutina*, that his friends began to be greatly alarmed for him; taking it for granted, that, if he fell into *Antony*'s hands, he would be treated no better than *Trebonius*. The mention, therefore, of a pacification being revived in the Senate, and recommended by *Panſa* himſelf, upon an intimation given by *Antony*'s friends that he was now in a diſpoſition to ſubmit to reaſon, *Cicero*, out of a concern for *Brutus*'s ſafety, conſented to a decree for a ſecond embaſſy, to be executed by himſelf and *Servilius*, and three other conſular Senators: But, finding upon recollection, that there appeared no ſymptoms of any change in *Antony*, and that his friends produced no proofs of it, nor any thing new in his conduct, he was convinced that he had made a falſe ſtep, and that nothing more was intended than to gain time; which was of great uſe to *Antony*, as it would retard the attempts of relieving *Mutina*, and give an opportunity to *Ventidius* to join him, who was marching towards him at that time with three legions. At the next meeting of the Senate he retracted his opinion, and declared againſt the late decree, as dangerous and inſidious; and in a warm and pathetic ſpeech (which is his *twelfth Philippic*) preſſed them ſo ſtrongly to repeal it, that the thing was wholly drop-

dropped; and *Panſa*, about the end of the month, marched towards *Gaul*, at the head of his new raiſed army, in order to join *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, and, without farther delay, to attempt a deciſive battle with *Antony* for the delivery of *D. Brutus*. Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

Antony, at the ſame time, while he was perplexing the counſels of the Senate by the intrigues of his friends, was endeavouring alſo by his letters to ſhake the reſolution of *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, and draw them off from the cauſe, which they were now ſupporting; but their anſwers ſeem to have been ſhort and firm; referring him conſtantly to the authority of the Senate: Yet, as things were now drawing towards a criſis, he made one effort more upon them; and, in the following expoſtulatory letter, reproached them, with great freedom, for deſerting their true intereſt, and ſuffering themſelves to be duped and perſuaded by *Cicero* to revive the *Pompeian* cauſe, and eſtabliſh a power, which, in the end, would deſtroy them. Middl. p. 389.

ANTONIUS to HIRTIUS and CÆSAR.

"UPON the news of *Trebonius*'s death, I was "equally affected both with joy and with grief. "It was matter of real joy to me to ſee a villain "ſuffer the vengeance due to the aſhes of the "moſt illuſtrious of men; and that, within the "circle of the current year, the divine providence "has diſplayed itſelf, by the puniſhment of par-"ricide, inflicted already on ſome, and ready to

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" fall upon the reſt. But, on the other hand, it " is a ſubject of juſt grief to me, that *Dolabella* " ſhould be declared an enemy, becauſe he has " killed a murderer; and that the ſon of a buf- " foon ſhould be dearer to the people of *Rome*, " than *Cæſar*, the Father of his country: But the " cruelleſt reflection of all is, that you, *Hirtius*, " covered with *Cæſar*'s favours, and left by him " in a condition which you yourſelf wonder at; " and you too, young man, who owe every thing " to his name, are doing all which is in your " power, that *Dolabella* may be thought juſtly " condemned; that this wretch be delivered " from the ſiege, and *Caſſius* and *Brutus* be in- " veſted with all power. You look upon the " preſent ſtate of things, as people did upon the " paſt; call *Pompey*'s camp the Senate; have " made the vanquiſhed *Cicero* your Captain; are " ſtrengthening *Macedonia* with armies; have " given *Africa* to *Varus*, twice a priſoner; have " ſent *Caſſius* into *Syria*; ſuffered *Caſca* to act as " Tribune; ſuppreſſed the revenues of the *Juli-* " *an Luperci*; aboliſhed the colonies of veterans, " eſtabliſhed by law, and the decree of the Se- " nate; promiſe to reſtore to the people of *Mar-* " *ſeilles* what was taken from them by right of " war; forget that a *Pompeian* was made incapa- " ble of any dignity by *Hirtius*'s law; have ſup- " plied *Brutus* with *Apuleius*'s money; applau- " ded the putting to death *Poetus* and *Menede-* " *mus*, *Cæſar*'s friends, whom he made free of " the city; took no notice of *Theopompus*, when, " ſtripped and baniſhed by *Trebonius*, he fled to

" *Alex-*

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" *Alexandria:* You ſee *Ser. Galba* in your camp, " armed with the ſame poniard with which he " ſtabbed *Cæſar*; have inliſted my ſoldiers and " other veterans, on pretence of deſtroying thoſe " who killed *Cæſar*, and then employ them, " before they know what they are doing, againſt " their Quæſtor, or their General, or their com- " rades.—What have you not done, which *Pom-* " *pey* himſelf, were he alive, or his ſon, if he " could, would not do? In ſhort, you deny, that " any peace can be made, unleſs I ſet *Brutus* at " liberty, or ſupply him with proviſions: Can " this pleaſe thoſe veterans who have not yet de- " clared themſelves? For, as to your part, you " have ſold yourſelves to the flatteries and poi- " ſoned honours of the Senate. But you come, " you ſay, to preſerve the troops which are be- " ſieged. I am not againſt their being ſaved, or " going wherever you pleaſe, if they will but " leave him to periſh, who has deſerved it. You " write me word that the mention of concord " has been revived in the Senate, and five con- " ſular ambaſſadors appointed: It is hard to be- " lieve that thoſe who have driven me to this " extremity, when I offered the faireſt conditi- " ons, and was willing to remit ſome part of " them, ſhould do any thing with moderation or " humanity: Nor is it probable, that the ſame " men, who voted *Dolabella* an enemy for a moſt " laudable act, can ever forgive me, who am in " the ſame ſentiments with him. Wherefore it is " your buſineſs to reflect, which of the two is

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V. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" the more eligible, or more uſeful to our com-
" mon intereſt, to revenge the death of *Trebonius*,
" or of *Cæſar*: And which the more equitable;
" for us to act againſt each other, that the *Pom-*
" *peian* cauſe, ſo often defeated, may recover it-
" ſelf; or to join our forces, leſt we become at
" laſt the ſport of our enemies, who, which of
" us ſoever may happen to fall, are ſure to be
" the gainers. But fortune has hitherto pre-
" vented that ſpectacle; unwilling to ſee two
" armies, like members of the ſame body, fight-
" ing againſt each other; and *Cicero*, all the while,
" like a Maſter of Gladiators, matching us and
" ordering the combat: Who is ſo far happy as
" to have caught you with the ſame bait with
" which he brags to have caught *Cæſar*. For
" my part, I am reſolved to ſuffer no affront ei-
" ther to myſelf or my friends; nor to deſert the
" party which *Pompey* hated; nor to ſee the ve-
" terans driven out of their poſſeſſions, and
" dragged one by one to the rack; nor to break
" my word with *Dolabella*; nor to violate my
" league with *Lepidus*, a moſt religious man:
" Nor to betray *Plancus*, the partner of all my
" counſels. If the immortal gods ſupport me, as
" I hope they will, in the purſuit of ſo good a
" cauſe, I ſhall live with pleaſure; but, if any
" other fate expects me, I taſte a joy, however,
" before-hand, in the ſure foreſight of your pu-
" niſhment: For, if the *Pompeians* are ſo inſolent
" when conquered, how much more they will
" be ſo when Conquerors, it will be your lot to
" feel,

" feel. In a word, this is the ſum of my reſolu- Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.
" tion: I can forgive the injuries of my friends,
" if they themſelves are diſpoſed either to forget
" them, or prepared, in conjunction with me, to
" revenge the death of *Cæſar*: I cannot believe
" that any ambaſſadors will come; when they
" do, I ſhall know what they have to demand."
Hirtius and *Cæſar*, inſtead of anſwering this letter, ſent it directly to *Cicero* at *Rome*, to make what uſe of it he thought fit with the Senate or the People.

In this interval *Lepidus* wrote a public letter Middl. p. 393.
to the Senate, to exhort them to pacific meaſures, and to ſave the effuſion of civil blood, by contriving ſome way of reconciling *Antony* and his friends to the ſervice of his country; without giving the leaſt intimation of his thanks for the public honours which they had lately decreed to him. This was not at all agreeable to the Senate, and confirmed their former jealouſy of his diſaffection to the Republic, and good underſtanding with *Antony*. They agreed, however, to a vote propoſed by *Servilius*, " that *Lepidus*
" ſhould be thanked for his love of peace, and
" care of the citizens; yet ſhould be deſired not
" to trouble himſelf any farther about it, but
" to leave that affair to them; who thought that
" there could be no peace, unleſs *Antony* ſhould
" lay down his arms and ſue for it." This letter gave *Antony*'s friends a freſh handle to renew their inſtances for a treaty, for the ſake of obliging *Lepidus*, who had it in his power, they ſaid, to force them to it. *Cicero* pronounced, on this occa-

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occaſion, his *thirteenth Philippic*, to confute their arguments; and, in the courſe of it, read to the Houſe *Antony*'s letter to *Hirtius* and *Cæſar*, paragraph by paragraph, making all along, with great wit and ſpirit, his own comment and remarks upon it. *C. Antony*, whom we mentioned above to have retreated, with ſeven cohorts, to *Apollonia*, not daring to wait for *Brutus*'s arrival, who was now advancing towards him, marched out to *Buthrotum* to ſeek his fortune elſewhere, in quarters more ſecure and remote: But, being overtaken and attacked on his march by a part of *Brutus*'s army, he loſt three of his cohorts in the action; and, in a ſecond engagement with another body of troops which young *Cicero* commanded, was entirely routed and taken priſoner; which made *Brutus* abſolute maſter of the country without oppoſition. He treated his priſoner with great lenity, and ſeemed much diſpoſed to give him his liberty; which he would have done, if he had not met with the ſtrongeſt oppoſition from *Cicero* and the Senate [y].

Middl. p. 393.

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[y] He not only wrote to the Senate about it himſelf, but permitted *Antony* to write too, and with the ſtyle of Proconſul; which ſurpriſed and ſhocked all his friends at *Rome*, and eſpecially *Cicero*, who expoſtulates with him for it in the following letter:

"ON the 13*th* of *April*, ſays he, your meſſenger *Pilus* "brought us two letters, one in your name, the other in "*Antony*'s, and gave them to *Servilius*, the Tribune: He to "*Cornutus*, the Prætor. They were read in the Senate. "*Antony Proconſul*, raiſed as much wonder as if it had been "*Dolabella Emperor*, from whom alſo there came an expreſs; "but

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The ſiege of *Mutina* had laſted now four months; and it was inveſted ſo cloſely by *Antony*, and he had poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that no ſuccours could be thrown into it. *Brutus*, though reduced to the utmoſt ſtraits, defended

" but nobody, like your *Pilus*, was ſo hardy to produce the " letters, or deliver them to the magiſtrates. Your letter was " read; ſhort indeed, but extremely mild towards *Antony*: " The Senate was amazed at it. For my part, I did not " know how to act. Should I affirm it to be forged?— " What if you ſhould own it? Should I admit it to be genu- " ine? That was not for your honour. I choſe, therefore, " to be ſilent that day. On the next, when the affair had " made ſome noiſe, and *Pilus*'s carriage had given offence, " I began the debate, and ſaid much of *Proconſul Antony*. " *Sextius* performed his part, and obſerved to me afterwards " in private, what danger his ſon and mine would be lia- " ble to, if they had really taken up arms againſt a *Pro-* " *conſul*. You know the man; he did juſtice to the cauſe. " Others alſo ſpoke; but our friend *Labeo* took notice that " your ſeal was not put to the letter; nor any date added; " nor had you written about it, as uſual, to your friends; " from which he maintained the letter to be forged; and, " in ſhort, convinced the Houſe of it. It is now your part, " *Brutus*, to conſider the whole ſtate and nature of the war: " You are delighted, I perceive, with lenity; and think it " the beſt way of proceeding: This, indeed, is generally " right; but the proper place of clemency is in caſes and " ſeaſons very different from the preſent: For what are we " doing now, *Brutus?* We ſee a needy and deſperate crew " threatening the very temples of the gods; and that the " war muſt neceſſarily decide, whether we are to live, or not. " Who is it then whom we are ſparing, or what is it " that we mean? Are we conſulting the ſafety of thoſe who, " if they get the better, are ſure not to leave the leaſt " remains of us? For what difference is there between *Do-* " *labella* and any one of the three *Antony's?* If we ſpare any " of theſe, we have been too ſevere to *Dolabella*. It was

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ed it ſtill with the greateſt reſolution [z]. Upon the approach of *Panſa*'s army, *Antony* privately drew out ſome of his beſt troops, with a deſign to ſurpriſe him on the road before their union, and to draw him, if poſſible, to an engagement againſt his will. We have a particular account of the action, in a letter to *Cicero* from *Ser. Galba* [a], one of the Conſpirators againſt *Cæſar*, who bore a principal part and command in it.

Ep. Fam. x. 30.

"ON the 15*th* of *April*, the day on which "*Panſa* was to arrive in *Hirtius*'s camp, (in "whoſe company I was, for I went an hundred "miles to meet him and haſten his march) *An*-"*tony* drew out two of his legions, the *ſecond* "and *thirty-fifth*; and two prætorian cohorts;

"owing chiefly to my advice and authority that the Senate "and People are in this way of thinking, tho' the thing it-"ſelf indeed alſo obliged them to it: If you do not approve "this policy, I ſhall defend your opinion, but cannot de-"part from my own: The world expects from you no-"thing either remiſs or cruel: It is eaſy to moderate the "matter, by ſeverity to the Leaders, generoſity to the ſol-"diers."

[z] The old writers have recorded ſome ſtratagems, which are ſaid to have been put in practice on this occaſion: "How "*Hirtius* provided men ſkilled in diving, with letters written "on lead, to paſs into the town under the river which runs "through it, till *Antony* obſtructed that paſſage by nets and "traps placed under water: Which gave occaſion to ano-"ther contrivance of ſending their intelligence backwards "and forwards by pigeons. *Front. de Stratagem.* l. iii. 13. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat.* l. x. 37. *Dio*, p. 315.

[a] He had been one of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants in *Gaul*; but, not being favoured by him in his purſuit of the conſulſhip, he joined in the conſpiracy with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. He was great grandfather to the Emperor *Galba*.

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" the one his own, the other *Silanus*'s [b], with part " of the *Evocati*; and came forward towards us, " imagining that we had nothing but four legi- " ons of new levies. But, in the night, to ſe- " cure our march to the camp, *Hirtius* had ſent " us the *Martial* legion, which I uſed to com- " mand, and two prætorian cohorts. As ſoon " as *Antony*'s horſe appeared in ſight, neither " the *Martial* legion, nor the *prætorian* cohorts, " could be reſtrained from attacking them; ſo " that, when we could not hold them in, we " were obliged to follow them againſt our wills. " *Antony* kept his forces within *Caſtel-franco*;" [*Ad forum Gallorum*, a ſmall village on the *Æmilian* way between *Modena* and *Bologna*] " and, " being unwilling to have it known, that he had " his legions with him, ſhewed only his horſe " and light-armed foot. When *Panſa* ſaw the " *Martial* legion running forward againſt his or- " ders, he commanded two of the new-raiſed " legions to follow him. As ſoon as we got " through the ſtraits of the moraſs and the " woods, we drew up the twelve cohorts" [the ten of the *Martial* legion, and the two prætorian] " in order of battle. The other two le- " gions were not yet come up. *Antony* im- " mediately brought all his troops out of the vil- " lage, ranged likewiſe in order of battle, and " without delay engaged us. At firſt they fought

[b] He was military Tribune in the army of *Lepidus*, and, by the connivance, if not by the expreſs orders of that General, had conducted a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of *Antony*. Dio, xlvi. 336.

" ſo

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" ſo briſkly on both ſides, that nothing could " poſſibly be fiercer: Tho' the right wing, in " which I was, with eight cohorts of the *Martial* " legion, put *Antony*'s thirty-fifth legion to flight, " at the firſt onſet, and purſued it above five " hundred paces from the place where the ac- " tion began: Wherefore, obſerving the enemy's " horſe attempting to ſurround our wing, I be- " gan to retreat, and ordered the light-armed " troops to make head againſt the *Mooriſh* horſe, " and prevent their coming upon us behind. In " the mean while I perceived myſelf in the midſt " of *Antony*'s men, and *Antony* himſelf but a lit- " tle way behind me. Upon which, with my " ſhield thrown over my ſhoulder, I puſhed on " my horſe with all ſpeed towards the new le- " gion that was coming towards us from the " camp: And, whilſt *Antony*'s men were pur- " ſuing me, and ours, by miſtake, throwing ja- " velins at me, I was preſerved, I know not how " by being preſently known to our ſoldiers. " *Cæſar*'s *prætorian* cohort ſuſtained the fight a " long time on the *Æmilian* road: But our left " wing, which was the weaker, conſiſting of " two cohorts of the *Martial* legion, and the " prætorian of *Hirtius*, began to give ground; " being ſurrounded by *Antony*'s horſe, in which " he is very ſtrong. When all our ranks had " made good their retreat, I retreated myſelf " the laſt, to our camp. *Antony*, as the Con- " queror, fancied that he could take it; but, " upon trial, loſt many of his men in the at- " tempt, without being able to do us any hurt.

" *Hir-*

" *Hirtius*, in the mean time, hearing of the en- Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.
" gagement, marched out with twenty veteran
" cohorts, and, meeting *Antony* on his return, in-
" tirely routed and put to flight his whole army,
" in the very ſame place where they had fought
" before. About ten at night, *Antony* regain-
" ed his camp at *Mutina* with all his horſe.
" *Hirtius* retired to that camp, which *Panſa*
" had quitted in the morning, and where he
" left the two legions, which *Antony* attacked:
" Thus *Antony* has loſt the greater part of his ve-
" teran troops, yet not without ſome loſs of our
" prætorian cohorts and the *Martial* legion:
" We took two of *Antony*'s eagles, and ſixty ſtan-
" dards; and have gained a conſiderable advan-
" tage." Beſides this letter from *Galba*, there came letters alſo ſeverally from the two Conſuls and *Octavius*; confirming the other account with the addition of ſome farther particulars: " That Philipp. xiv. 9, 10.
" *Panſa*, fighting bravely at the head of his
" troops, had received two dangerous wounds,
" and was carried off the field to *Bononia*: That
" *Hirtius* had ſcarce loſt a ſingle man: And that,
" to animate the ſoldiers the better, he took up
" the eagle of the *fourth* legion, and carried it
" forward himſelf: That *Cæſar* was left to the
" guard of their camp; where he was likewiſe
" attacked by another body of the enemy, whom
" he repulſed with great loſs." *Antony* reproach- Suet. in Aug. x.
ed *Octavius* afterwards with running away from this engagement in ſuch a fright, that he did not appear again till two days after, and without his horſe or General's habit: But the account

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juſt mentioned was given by *Cicero*, from letters, that were read to the Senate, in which *Hirtius* declared him to have acted with the greateſt courage.

The news reached *Rome* on the 20*th* of *April*: The day following the Senate was ſummoned by *Cornutus*, the Prætor, to deliberate on the letters of the *Conſuls* and *Octavius*. *Servilius*'s opinion was, "that the city ſhould now quit the *Sagum*; "and that a public thankſgiving ſhould be de- "creed jointly to the honour of the *Conſuls* and "*Octavius*." *Cicero* declared ſtrongly againſt quitting the *Sagum*, till *D. Brutus* was quite delivered from the ſiege: And, having ſhewed how well the three Generals deſerved the title of Emperor, he decreed a *thankſgiving of fifty days* in the name of the three jointly. He then propoſed that a *monument* ſhould be raiſed to thoſe who, in the defence of their country, had been killed in battle; that the former aſſurances made to the legions of the full and punctual payment of all which had been promiſed to them, as ſoon as the war ſhould be over, ſhould be renewed; and for thoſe, in the mean time, who had loſt their lives for their country, that the ſame rewards which would have been given them, if they had lived, ſhould be given immediately to their parents, children, wives, and brothers [c].

An-

[c] The greateſt part of this *fourteenth Philippic*, and laſt oration of *Cicero*, is a panegyric upon himſelf: He tells us, that, when the news of *Antony*'s defeat was known, the people of *Rome* carried him into the Capitol in a kind of triumph. "For

Antony, being cruelly mortified by this defeat, kept himſelf cloſe within his camp, and reſolved to

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

Middl. p. 427.

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" For that, after all, he ſays, is a juſt and real triumph, when, " by the general voice of the city, a public teſtimony is gi- " ven to thoſe who have deſerved well of the Commonwealth. " For, if in the common joy of the whole city *they congra-* " *tulated me ſingly*, it is a great declaration of their judg- " ment; if they *thanked me*, ſtill greater; if *both*, nothing can " be imagined more glorious." He then obſerves, " that " he was forced to ſay ſo much of himſelf againſt his will, " by the ſtrange envy and injuries which he had lately " ſuffered;—that the inſolence of the factions, as they all " knew, had raiſed *a report and ſuſpicion upon him of his aim-* " *ing at a tyranny*; that he had formed a deſign to make " himſelf maſter of the city, and declare himſelf Dictator, " and would appear publicly with the faſces within a day " or two: Though his whole life had been ſpent in de- " fending the Republic from tyranny; as if he who had de- " ſtroyed *Cataline*, for that very crime, was of a ſudden be- " come a *Cataline* himſelf. That, if the report had found " credit in the city, their deſign was by a ſudden aſſault up- " on his perſon, as upon a tyrant, to have taken away " his life:—That the thing itſelf was manifeſt, and the " whole affair ſhould be laid open in proper time:—That " he had ſaid all this not to purge himſelf to them, to " whom he ſhould be ſorry to want an apology, but to ad- " moniſh certain perſons of jejune and narrow minds to look " upon the virtue of excellent citizens as the object of their " imitation, not of their envy; ſince the Republic was a wide " field, where the courſe of glory was open to many; that, " if any man conteſted with him the firſt place in the go- " vernment, he acted fooliſhly, if he meant to do it by op- " poſing vice to virtue: That, as the race was gained by run- " ning the faſteſt, ſo virtue was only to be conquered by a " ſuperior virtue:—That they cou'd never get the better of " him by bad votes, by good ones perhaps they might; and " he himſelf ſhould be glad of it.—That the people of *Rome*

" were

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to hazard nothing farther, but to act only on the defenſive; except by harraſſing the enemy with his horſe, in which he was far ſuperior. He ſtill hoped to make himſelf maſter of *Mutina*, which was reduced to extremity; and, by the ſtrength of his works, to prevent their throwing any relief into it. *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, on the other hand, elate with victory, were determined at all hazards to relieve it; and, after two or three days ſpent in finding the moſt likely place of breaking through the intrenchments, they made their attack with ſuch vigour, that *Antony*, rather than ſuffer the town to be ſnatched out of his hands, choſe to draw out his legions, and come to a general battle. The fight was bloody and obſtinate; and *Antony*'s men, though obliged to give ground, bravely diſputed every inch of it, till *D. Brutus*, taking the opportunity, at the ſame time, to ſally

" were perpetually inquiring, how men of their rank voted " and acted; and formed their judgment of them accordingly—That they all remembered, how, in *December* laſt, he " was the author of the firſt ſtep towards recovering their liberty: How, from the 1*ſt* of *January*, he had been continually watching over the ſafety of the Commonwealth: " How his houſe and his ears were open day and night to " the advice and informations of all who came to him, &c." And, in a letter to *Brutus*, he ſays, " that he *reaped* on " *the day* he *was carried* to *the Capitol the full fruit of all* " *his toils, if there be any fruit in true and ſolid glory.*" Could any body help laughing when they heard *Cicero* vindicate himſelf ſeriouſly from aiming at tyranny, and his friend *Apuleius*, the Tribune, make a ſpeech to the people to confute this report? Was there a man in *Rome* who was not ſenſible that he had no ſtrength of his own, but was a mere tool in the hands of another?

out

out of the town, at the head of his garriſon, helped greatly to determine and complete the victory. *Hirtius* puſhed his advantage with great ſpirit, and forced his way into *Antony*'s camp; but, when he had gained the middle of it, was unfortunately killed near the General's tent: *Pontius Aquila*, one of the Conſpirators, was killed likewiſe in the ſame place: But *Octavius*, who followed to ſupport them, made good their attempt, and kept poſſeſſion of the camp, with the intire defeat and deſtruction of *Antony*'s beſt troops; while *Antony* himſelf, with all his horſe, fled with great precipitation towards the *Alps*. The Conſul *Panſa* died the day following of his wounds at *Bononia* [d].

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[d] *Dr. Middleton*, p. 429, gives the following character of the two Conſuls: *Hirtius* was a man of letters and politeneſs; intimately intruſted with *Cæſar*'s counſels and employed to write his acts: But, as he was the proper creature of *Cæſar*, and ſtrongly infected with party, ſo his views were all bent on ſupporting the power that had raiſed him, and ſerving his patron, not the public. In the beginning, therefore, of the civil war, when he was Tribune of the people, he publiſhed a law, *to exclude all, who were in arms with Pompey, from any employment or office in the State*: Which made him particularly obnoxious to the *Pompeians*, who conſidered him as their moſt inveterate enemy. *Panſa*, whoſe father had been proſcribed by *Sylla*, was attached with equal zeal to *Cæſar*, as to the head and reviver of the *Marian* cauſe; and ſerved him in all his wars with ſingular affection and fidelity. He was a grave, ſincere, and worthy man; and, being naturally more moderate and benevolent than *Hirtius*, was touched with the ruin of his country, and the miſeries of the oppreſſed *Pompeians*; many of whom he relieved by his humanity, and reſtored by his intereſt to the city and their

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their eſtates. This made him very popular, and gained him the eſteem of all the honeſt; ſo that *Caſſius*, in defending his *Epicuriſm* to *Cicero*, alledges *Panſa*, as an example of thoſe genuine *Epicureans*, who placed their pleaſure, or chief good, in virtuous acts. Before their entrance into the conſulſhip, *Q. Cicero* gave a moſt wretched account of them "both, "as of a lewd, luxurious pair; not fit to be truſted with the "command of a paltry town, much leſs of the empire; "and ſays, that, if they were not removed from the helm, the "Republic would certainly be loſt; ſince *Antony* would ea- "ſily draw them into a partnerſhip of his crimes; for, when he "ſerved with them in *Gaul*, he had ſeen incredible inſtances "of their effeminacy and debauchery in the face even of the "enemy." But we muſt charge a great part of this character to the peeviſhneſs and envy of *Quintus*: For, whatever they had been before, they were certainly good Conſuls; and out of their affection to *Cicero*, and regard to his authority, governed themſelves generally, in all great affairs, by his maxims. They were perſuaded that the deſign of revenging *Cæſar*'s death would throw the Republic again into convulſions, and flowed from no other motive, than the ambition of poſſeſſing *Cæſar*'s place; and reſolved, therefore, to quell by open force, all attempts againſt the public peace. From their long adherence to *Cæſar*, they retained indeed ſome prejudices in that favour of party; and were loth to proceed to extremities till pacific meaſures were found ineffectual. This gave *Cicero* ſome reaſon to blame, but never to diſtruſt them; to complain of their phlegm and *want of vigour*, as detrimental to the common cauſe; yet, while they were generally ſuſpected by others, he always thought them ſincere, tho' they did not, in all caſes, act up to his wiſhes. The event confirmed his judgment of them: For they both not only expoſed but loſt their lives with the greateſt courage in defence of the Republic; and *ſhewed themſelves to be the very men which Cicero had conſtantly affirmed them to be*; and, though he imputes ſome *little blame* to *Hirtius*, yet of *Panſa* he declares, *that he wanted neither courage from the firſt, nor fidelity to the laſt.*

N. B. Several medals were ſtruck by the Senate on the occaſion of this victory; particularly one in honour of *Panſa*, exhibiting the head of the *goddeſs of Liberty*, crowned with laurel, and the inſcription *Libertatis*; and, on the reverſe,

Rome

Rome ſitting upon the ſpoils of enemies, holding a ſpear in her right hand, and a dagger in her left, with her foot upon the globe, and Victory flying towards her to crown her with laurel; and the inſcription, C. PANSA C. F. C. N. See *Morel. Fam. Rom.* Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

CHAP. XIV.

The Senate decrees honours to the two deceaſed Conſuls, and to D. BRUTUS *and* OCTAVIUS. ANTONY *is not purſued;* OCTAVIUS *wanting the will, and* D. BRUTUS *the means of following him. He is received by* LEPIDUS, *who writes to the Senate to juſtify his behaviour: On the other ſide,* D. BRUTUS *joins* PLANCUS, *Governor of farther* GAUL. LEPIDUS *is declared, by the influence of Cicero, an enemy to the State.* OCTAVIUS *treats ſecretly with* ANTONY *and* LEPIDUS, *and demands the conſulſhip by a deputation of his officers.* CICERO *appears no more upon the Stage of action: His correſpondence with the ſeveral Generals abroad.*

THE death of the two Conſuls placed *Octavius* at once above controul, by leaving him the maſter of both their armies; eſpecially of all the veterans; who were diſaffected to *D. Brutus*; and it fell out ſo lucky and ſo appoſite to all *Octavius*'s views, as to give birth to a general perſuaſion that they had received foul play, and were both of them killed by his contrivance: For he was obſerved to be the firſt man who took up *Hirtius*'s body in the camp; where ſome imagined him to have been killed by his own ſoldi-

Middl. p. 432.

Suet. in Oct. 11. App. p. 572. Dio, l. xlvi. 317.

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ers; and *Panſa*'s phyſician, *Glyco*, was actually thrown into priſon by *Torquatus*, *Panſa*'s Quæſtor, upon a ſuſpicion of having poiſoned his wounds. But the chief ground of that notion ſeems to have lain in the fortunate coincidence of the event with the intereſts of *Octavius*: For *M. Brutus* thought it incredible, and, in the moſt preſſing manner, begged of *Cicero* to procure *Glyco*'s enlargement, aud protect him from any harm; as being a worthy, modeſt man, incapable of ſuch a villainy, and who, of all others, ſuffered the greateſt loſs by *Panſa*'s death.

Ad Brut. vi.

At *Rome*, the general rejoicings ſtifled all preſent attention to the loſs of their Conſuls [e]; and *An-*

[e] They were not regretted by *Brutus*'s friends, who had all along entertained a very bad opinion of them; and *Cicero* himſelf, confident of the good diſpoſitions of his pupil *Octavius*, was not much concerned at firſt for their loſs: Theſe things appear by the following letters:

Cicero to Brutus.

Ad Brut. Ep. viii. Middl. Ed. p. 51.

"WHILE I was writing this, our affairs were ſuppoſed "to be reduced to the laſt extremity: For all our letters and "meſſages brought us ſad accounts of our *Brutus* [*]. They "did not, however, very much diſturb me. For I could "not by any means diſtruſt the armies and the Leaders, who "are now acting for us: *Nor was I of the ſame opinion with "the majority of our friends, for I did not condemn the fidelity of "the Conſuls, which was vehemently ſuſpected.* I blamed their "want of prudence and celerity in ſome caſes, where, if they "had exerted themſelves, we ſhould long ago have recovered "the Republic. For you are not ignorant of what moment "it is, in public affairs, to ſeize the proper times of acting;

[*] D. Brutus.

Antony's friends were ſo dejected for ſome time, that they gave *Cicero* no more oppoſition in the Se- Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" and what a difference it makes, whether the ſame thing be " decreed, undertaken, or tranſacted, ſooner or later. If " all the vigorous decrees, that have been made ſince the be- " ginning of this diſturbance, had either been carried into " effect on the day when I propoſed them, and not been " put off from day to day; or if, from the time when they " began to be put in execution, they had not ſtill been delay- " ed and poſtponed, we ſhould have ſeen an end of the war " before now. I have acquitted myſelf, *Brutus*, to the Re- " public in all points, as that man ought to do, who, by " the judgment of the Senate and people, is placed in that " rank of authority in which I now am; and not merely in " thoſe things, which alone are to be required from man; fi- " delity, vigilance, and love of my country; for theſe are du- " ties from which nobody ought to be excuſed; but I take " it to be the part of him, who acts as one of the Leaders " in ſtate affairs, to *inſure even the prudence of his meaſures to* " *the Public:* And, for my part, ſince I have aſſumed ſo " much to myſelf, as to take the ſteerage of the Republic " into my hands, *I ſhould not think myſelf leſs culpable if I* " *ſhould draw the Senate into any thing impertinently, than if* " *I had drawn them into it treacherouſly.* I know that a punc- " tual account is ſent you of all things that are done or go- " ing forward among us. But what I would have you in- " formed of particularly by me is this: That my mind is " wholly intent on the war; nor cares to attend to any other " object, unleſs when the immediate ſervice of the city " may have called it by accident to ſomething elſe. But the " greateſt part of my attention is fixed upon you and *Caſſius.* " Wherefore prepare yourſelf, *Brutus*, in ſuch a manner, " as to be perſuaded, that, if at this very time our affairs " be crowned with ſucceſs, it is you who muſt ſet the Repub- " lic right; or, if any ill fortune has befallen us, it is you who " muſt recover it."

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ.

Senate: Where he poured out all imaginable honours on the deceaſed *Hirtius*, *Panſa*, and *Aquila*;

CICERO to BRUTUS.

Ad Brut. Ep. ix. Middl. Ed. p. 54.

"OUR affairs ſeemed to have taken a more favourable "turn. An account, I know, is ſent you of all that has been "done. The Conſuls anſwered the character which I of- "ten gave you of them in my letters. *But young Cæſar has* "*ſhewn a wonderful diſpoſition to virtue. I wiſh that I may* "*be able to hold and govern him ſtill, in this height of honour* "*and favour, as eaſily as I have hitherto done. It is now,* "*indeed, become more difficult; yet I do not deſpair of it. For* "*the young man is perſuaded, and chiefly by me, that we owe* "*our ſafety to his vigour:* And, in truth, if he had not kept "off *Antony* from the city, all had been loſt. Nay, within "three or four days before this moſt happy event, the city, "ſtruck with a kind of panic, was all running away at "once, with their wives and children, to you; till, being "made eaſy again *on the 20th of April*, they began to wiſh, "that you would rather come hither to them, than they go "to you. *On which day I reaped the full fruit of all my great* "*pains and conſtant watchings*, if there be any fruit at all "from true and ſolid glory. *For the whole multitude,* "*which our city contains, flocked on that day to my houſe;* "*whence I was carried by them firſt to the* Capitol; *then placed* "*in the* Roſtra, *with the loudeſt acclamations and applauſe.* "*There is nothing of vanity in me; nor indeed ought there to be:* "*Yet the conſent of all orders, their thanks and gratulations,* "*really move me; ſince it is truly noble to become popular by the* "*preſervation of the people.* But I would have you hear of "theſe things rather from others. I deſire you to ſend me "a punctual account of all your affairs and deſigns; and "to take care particularly, that your generoſity may not "ſeem to be carried to a degree of remiſſneſs. The Senate "is of opinion, and the *Roman* People of the ſame, *that no* "*enemies were ever more worthy of the laſt puniſhment*, than "thoſe citizens, who have taken up arms againſt their coun- "try in the preſent war: *On whom, indeed, I am taking a*

"*pre-*

quila; decreed an ovation to *Cæſar* [f]; and added a number of days to their thankſgiving, in honour

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" *proper revenge, and purſuing in all my votes*, with the appro-
" bation of all honeſt men. It is your part to determine
" what you ought to judge of this affair. *My opinion of it is,*
" *that the caſe of the three Antony's is one and the ſame.* We
" have loſt two Conſuls; good ones, it is true; *but barely*
" *good.* *Hirtius* fell in the very midſt of victory, after he had
" beaten the enemy, a few days before, in a great battle.
" For *Panſa* was forced to fly, being diſabled by the wounds
" he had received. *Brutus* is now purſuing the remains of
" the enemy, and *Cæſar* alſo: But all are adjudged enemies,
" who have eſpouſed the party of *M. Antony.* *Moſt people,*
" *therefore, interpret that decree of the Senate to extend alſo to*
" *your priſoners; whether taken in flight, or by ſurrender.* I
" moved, indeed, for nothing more ſevere, though I was
" ſpeaking upon *C. Antonius* by name; becauſe I had reſolv-
" ed with myſelf, that the Senate ought to take their infor-
" mation of the caſe from you. *April 22d.*"

It is hard to believe, that it was *the pure* love of his country, unmixed with the low paſſions of *fear* and *hatred*, which engaged *Cicero*, contrary to all prudence and humanity, as well as the judgment of *Brutus*, to grant no quarter to *Antony*'s adherents, and transform a civil conteſt into an *inexpiable war.*

[f] The decree of an *ovation* to *Octavius* was blamed by *Brutus* and his friends; yet ſeems, ſays Dr. *Middleton*, p. 434, " *to have been wiſely and artfully deſigned:* For, while
" it carried an appearance of honour, it would regularly have
" ſtripped him of his power, if he had made uſe of it;
" ſince his commiſſion was to expire of courſe, and his army
" be diſſolved, upon his firſt entrance into the city: But the
" confuſion of the times made laws and cuſtoms of little effect
" with thoſe who had the power to diſpenſe with them." If ſo, there was no wiſdom or cunning in *Cicero*'s contrivance: And, if *Cicero* did believe that *Octavius* would diſband his veterans to enjoy the honour decreed him, he muſt have poſſeſſed no great ſhare of penetration.

[t] *At-*

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nour of *D. Brutus*; whoſe deliverance happening to fall upon his birth-day, he decreed likewiſe, that his name ſhould be aſcribed ever after to that day, in the *Faſti* or *public calendars*, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. *Antony*'s adherents were alſo declared enemies[g]: In which number *Servilius* himſelf, *Cicero*'s great antagoniſt, included *Ventidius*; and moved to give *Caſſius* the command of the war againſt *Dolabella*; to whom *Cicero* joined *Brutus*, in caſe they ſhould find it uſeful to the Republic.

The Commanders abroad, who had been all greatly courted by *Cicero*, and had returned him civil anſwers, were ſo ſtruck with *Antony*'s defeat, that they redoubled their aſſurances to him of their firmneſs and zeal for the common cauſe[h]. But

[g] *Atticus*, at this time, when *Antony* was deſerted by almoſt all his friends, as a man utterly ruined, had the generoſity to perform the moſt friendly offices to *Fulvia*, *Antony*'s wife, and her children: Which behaviour met with its due recompence ſoon after.

[h] *Lepidus*, who had ſuffered *Silanus*, a military Tribune in his army, to carry ſuccours to *Antony* at *Mutina*, and, after *Antony*'s defeat, ſent *Culeo* with a body of men, under the pretence of guarding the paſſes of the *Alps*; but moſt probably with ſecret inſtructions to favour *Antony*'s march over theſe mountains, ſince he did not obſtruct it, but, on the contrary, joined *Antony*; wrote, nevertheleſs, the following letter to *Cicero*:

M. LEPIDUS to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. x. 34. Melm. xiv. 29.

"HAVING received advice that *Antony* was advancing "with his troops towards my province, and had ſent before "him

But we ſhall ſoon ſee them all fall off, excepting *Cornificius*, and ſide with the rebel *Antony*. The Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" him a detachment of his cavalry, under the command of " his brother *Lucius*; I moved with my army from the con- " fluence of the *Rhone* and the *Arar*," [the *Saone*, which " falls into the *Rhone* at *Lyons*] " in order to oppoſe their paſ- " ſage. I continued my march without halting, till I arriv- " ed at *Forum Voconii*: [*Le Luc* in *Provence*] and am now " encamped ſomewhat beyond that town, on the river *Ar-* " *genteus*," [*Argents*] " oppoſite to *Antony*. *Ventidius* has " joined him with his three legions, and has formed his " camp a little above mine. *Antony*, before this conjunction, " had the ſecond legion intire, together with a conſiderable " number of men, though indeed wholly unarmed, who eſ- " caped from the general ſlaughter of his other legions. " He is extremely ſtrong in cavalry; for, as none of thoſe " troops ſuffered in the late action, he has no leſs than . . . " horſe." [The number is omitted in all the ancient manuſcripts.] " Great numbers of his ſoldiers, both horſe and " foot, are continually deſerting to my camp; ſo that his " troops diminiſh every day. Both *Silanus* and *Culeo* have " left his army, and are returned to mine. *But, notwith-* " *ſtanding I was greatly offended by their going to* Antony, *con-* " *trary to my inclination; yet, in regard to the connexions that* " *ſubſiſt between us, and in compliance with my uſual clemency,* " *I have thought proper to pardon them.* However, I do not, " upon any occaſion, employ their ſervices; nor, indeed, " ſuffer them to remain in the camp.

" As to what concerns my conduct in this war, you may " depend upon it I ſhall not be wanting in my duty either to " the Senate or the Republic: And, whatever farther mea- " ſures I ſhall take to this end, I ſhall not fail to communi- " cate them to you. The friendſhip that ſubſiſts between us " has, upon all occaſions, been inviolably preſerved on both " ſides; and we have mutually vied in our beſt good-offices " to each other. But I doubt not that, ſince this great and " ſudden commotion has been raiſed in the Commonwealth, " ſome falſe and injurious reports have been ſpread of me by

" my

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The Conquerors at *Mutina* were very much cenſured for giving *Antony* leiſure to eſcape: But *Octa-*

"my enemies, which, in the zeal of your heart for the in-
"tereſt of the Republic, have given you much uneaſineſs.
"I have the ſatisfaction, however, to be informed, by my
"agents at *Rome*, that you are by no means diſpoſed eaſily to
"credit theſe idle rumours: For which I think myſelf, as
"I juſtly ought, extremely obliged to you. I am ſo, like-
"wiſe, for the former inſtances of your friendſhip, in pro-
"moting my public honours: The grateful remembrance
"of which, be aſſured, is indelibly impreſſed upon my heart.
"Let me conjure you, my dear *Cicero*, if you are ſenſible
"that my public conduct has, upon all occaſions, been wor-
"thy of the name I bear, to be perſuaded that I ſhall con-
"tinue to act with equal, or, if poſſible, even with ſuperior
"zeal. Let me hope too, that, the greater the favours are
"which you have conferred upon me, the more you will
"think yourſelf engaged to ſupport my credit and character.
"Farewell. From my camp at *Pons Argenteus*, *May 22d.*"

Correſpondence between *Pollio* and *Cicero.*

Aſinius Pollio, the Governor of *farther Spain*, had ſtrictly kept within the bounds of his province: Before the news of *Antony*'s defeat, he had written the two following letters to *Cicero*:

ASINIUS POLLIO to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. x. 31. Melm. xiii. 11.

"YOU muſt not wonder that you have heard nothing
"from me in relation to public affairs, ſince the breaking out
"of the war. Our couriers have always found it difficult to
"paſs unmoleſted through the foreſt of *Caſtulo*," [a city anciently of great note; at preſent it is only a ſmall village called *Cazorla*, in the province of *New Caſtile*:] "but it is
"now more than ever infeſted with robbers. Theſe ban-
"ditti, however, are by no means the principal obſtruction
"to our intercourſe with *Rome*: As the mails are perpetually
"ſearched and detained by the ſoldiers that are poſted for
"that purpoſe, by both parties, in every quarter of the coun-
"try.

Octavius, from the beginning, had no thoughts of purſuing him: He had already gained what he

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" try. Accordingly, if I had not received letters by a ſhip " which lately arrived in this river," [the *Bætis* or *Quadalquivir*] " I ſhould have been utterly ignorant of what " has been lately tranſacted in your part of the world. But, " now that a communication by ſea is thus opened between " us, I ſhall frequently, and with great pleaſure, embrace " the opportunity of correſponding with you.

" Believe me, there is no danger of my being influenced " by the perſuaſions of the perſon you mention." [*Antony*, or perhaps *Lepidus*.] " As much as the world abhors him, " he is far from being deteſted to that degree which I know " he deſerves: And I have ſo ſtrong an averſion to the " man, that I would, upon no conſideration, bear a part in " any meaſures wherein he is concerned. Inclined both by " my temper and my ſtudies to be the friend of tranquillity " and freedom, I frequently and bitterly lamented our late " unhappy civil wars. But, as the formidable enemies " which I had among both parties rendered it altogether " unſafe for me to remain neuter, ſo I would not take up " arms on that ſide where I knew I ſhould be perpetually ex- " poſed to the inſidious arts of my capital adverſary." [Perhaps *Cato*; as *Pollio* had early diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a public impeachment of that eminent man. See *Dial. de Cauſ. corrupt. Eloquent.* 34.] " But, though my inclina- " tions were not with the party I joined, my ſpirit, howe- " ver, would not ſuffer me to ſtand undiſtinguiſhed among " them: In conſequence of which I was forward to engage " in all the dangers of the cauſe I eſpouſed. With reſpect to " *Cæſar* himſelf, I will confeſs that I loved him with the " higheſt and moſt inviolable affection: As indeed I had rea- " ſon. For, notwithſtanding his acquaintance with me " commenced ſo late as when he was in the height of his " power, yet he admitted me into the ſame ſhare of his " friendſhip, as if I had been in the number of thoſe with " whom he had lived in the longeſt intimacy. Nevertheleſs, " as often as I was at liberty to follow my own ſentiments,

" I en-

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he aimed at; had reduced *Antony*'s power ſo low, and raiſed his own ſo high, as to be in a con-

" I endeavoured that my conduct ſhould be ſuch as every " honeſt man muſt approve: And, whenever I was obliged to " execute the orders I received, it was in a manner that evi- " dently diſcovered how much my actions were at variance " with my heart. The unjuſt odium, however, that I incur- " red by theſe unavoidable compliances, might well teach " me the true value of liberty, and how wretched a condition " it is to live under the government of a deſpotic power. " If any attempts, therefore, are carrying on to reduce us a " ſecond time under the dominion of a ſingle perſon, who- " ever that ſingle perſon may be, I declare myſelf his ir- " reconcileable enemy. The truth is, there is no danger ſo " great that I would not chearfully hazard for the ſupport " of our common liberties. But the Conſuls have not " thought proper to ſignify to me either by any decree of the " Senate, or by their private letters, in what manner I " ſhould act in the preſent conjuncture. I have received, in- " deed, only one letter from *Panſa* ſince the *ides of March*, " by which he adviſed me to aſſure the Senate, *that I was* " *ready to employ the forces under my command in any ſervice* " *they ſhould require. But this would have been a very impru-* " *dent declaration, at a time when Lepidus had profeſſed in his* " *public ſpeeches, as well as in the letters he wrote to all his* " *friends, that he concurred in* ANTONY*'s meaſures.*" [It does not appear that *Lepidus* was ſo explicit] " For could I poſſi- " bly, without the conſent of the former, find means to ſub- " ſiſt my troops in their march through his provinces? But, " granting that I could have ſurmounted this difficulty, I " muſt have conquered another and ſtill greater; as nothing " leſs than a pair of wings could have rendered it practicable " for me to have croſſed the *Alps*, whilſt every paſs was " guarded by the troops of *Lepidus*. Add to this, that I " could by no means convey my diſpatches to *Rome*: As the " couriers were not only expoſed, in a thouſand different " places, to the danger of being plundered, but were detain- " ed likewiſe, by the expreſs orders of *Lepidus*. It is well " known,

condition to make his own terms with him in the partition of the Empire; of which he

 ſeems

" known, however, that I publicly declared at *Corduba, that* " *it was my reſolution not to reſign this province into any other* " *hands than thoſe which the Senate ſhould appoint: Not to men-* " *tion how ſtrenuouſly I withſtood all the applications that were* " *made me for parting with the thirtieth legion.*" [Very ſingular proofs theſe of his zeal for what *Cicero* called the Republic.] " I could not, indeed, have given it up without depriv- " ing myſelf of a very conſiderable ſtrength for the defence " of the Republic: As there are no troops in the whole " world that are animated with a braver or more martial ſpi- " rit than thoſe of which this legion is compoſed. Upon the " whole, I hope you will do me the juſtice to believe, in the " firſt place, *that I am extremely deſirous of preſerving the pub-* " *lic tranquillity*; as there is nothing I more ſincerely wiſh " than the ſafety of *all my fellow-citizens:* And in the ſecond " place, that I am determined to vindicate my own and my " country's cauſe.

" It gives me greater ſatisfaction than you can well imagine, " that you admit my friend into a ſhare of your intimacy. " Shall I own, nevertheleſs, that I cannot think of him as " the companion of your walks, and as bearing a part in " the pleaſantry of your converſation, without feeling ſome " emotions of envy? This is a privilege, believe me, which I " infinitely value: As you ſhall moſt aſſuredly experience " by my devoting the whole of my time to your company, " if ever we ſhould live to ſee peace reſtored to the Republic.

" I am much ſurpriſed that you did not mention in your " letter, whether it would be moſt ſatisfactory to the Senate " that I ſhould remain in this province, or march into *Ita-* " *ly.* If I were to conſider only my own eaſe and ſafety, I " ſhould certainly continue here: but as, in the preſent con- " juncture, the Republic has more occaſion for legions than " for provinces, (eſpecially as the loſs of the latter may with " great eaſe be recovered) I have determined to move towards " *Italy* with my troops. For the reſt, I refer you to the let- " ter I have written to *Panſa:* A copy of which I herewith

" tranſ-

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ſeems to have formed the plan from this moment. Whereas, if *Antony* had been wholly deſtroyed, toge-

"tranſmit to you. Farewell." *Corduba, March* the 16*th.* There muſt be an error in this date; or in the body of the letter, where *Pollio* writes, that he had received but one letter from *Panſa*, ſince the 15*th*, or the ides of *March*. It was probably written about ſix weeks after, or in the end of *May*.

ASINIUS POLLIO to CICERO.

. . . . . .

Ep. Fam. x. 32. Melm. xv. 7.

"I ſhould be glad the Senate would determine in what manner they would have me act. I am at the head of three "brave legions, one of which *Antony* took great pains to "draw over to his intereſt, at the commencement of the war. "For this purpoſe, he cauſed it to be ſignified to them, that, "the very firſt day they ſhould enter into his camp, every ſoldier ſhould receive *five hundred denarii*;" [about 16 *l.*] "beſides which, he alſo aſſured them, that, if he obtained the "victory, they ſhould receive an equal ſhare of the ſpoils with "his own troops: A reward which all the world knows would "have been without end or meaſure. Theſe promiſes made a "deep impreſſion upon them: And it was with great difficulty I kept them from deſerting. I ſhould not, indeed, have "been able to have effected this, if I had not cantoned them "in diſtant quarters: As ſome of the cohorts, notwithſtanding they were thus ſeparated, had the inſolence to mutiny. "*Antony* alſo endeavoured to gain the reſt of the legions by "immenſe offers. Nor was *Lepidus* leſs importunate with "me to ſend him the *thirtieth* legion; which he ſollicited "both by his own letters, and by thoſe which he cauſed *Antony* to write. The Senate will do me the juſtice therefore "to believe, as no advantages could tempt me to ſell my "troops, nor any dangers, which I had reaſon to apprehend, "if *Antony* and *Lepidus* ſhould prove Conquerors, could prevail with me to diminiſh their number, that I was thus tenacious of my army for no other purpoſe but to employ "it in the ſervice of the Republic. And let the readineſs,

"with

Y. R. 716. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

together with the Conſuls, the Republican party would have probably been too ſtrong for him

" with which I have obeyed all the orders I received from the " Senate, be a proof that I would have complied in the ſame " manner with every other they ſhould have thought proper " to have ſent me. I have preſerved the tranquillity of this " province; I have maintained my authority over the army; " and have never once moved beyond the limits of my own " juriſdiction. I muſt add likewiſe, that I have never employ- " ed any ſoldier, either of my own troops, or thoſe of my " auxiliaries, in carrying any diſpatches whatſoever: And I " have conſtantly puniſhed ſuch of my cavalry whom I have " found at any time attempting to deſert. I ſhall think theſe " cares ſufficiently rewarded, in ſeeing the peace and ſecurity " of the public reſtored. But, if the majority of the Senate " and the Commonwealth, indeed, in general, had known me " for what I am, I ſhould have been able to have rendered " them much more important ſervice." *Corduba, June* the 8*th.*

The ſame Commander wrote the following letter, after receiving the news of *Antony*'s defeat.

Asinius Pollio to Cicero.

" IT is owing to *Lepidus*, who detained my couriers above " a week, that I did not receive earlier advice of the ſeveral " actions near *Mutina:* Though indeed I ſhould be glad to " have been the laſt that was informed of this *unhappy news*, " if it were utterly out of my power to be of any aſſiſtance " in redreſſing its conſequences I wiſh the Senate had or- " dered me into *Italy*, when they ſent for *Plancus* and *Lepidus:* " For, if I had been preſent, the Republic would not have " received this *cruel wound.* And though ſome, perhaps, " may rejoice in this event, from the great number of prin- " cipal officers and veteran ſoldiers of the *Cæſarean* party, " who have periſhed; yet they will, undoubtedly, find reaſon " to lament it, when they ſhall be ſenſible of the terrible de- " ſolation it has brought upon their country. For, if what is

Ep. Fam. x. 33. Melm. xv. 2.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ.

him and *Lepidus*, who, though Maſter of a good army, was certainly a weak General: When he

" related concerning the number of the ſlain be in any degree " true, the flower and ſtrength of our armies is intirely cut off.

" I was well aware of the great advantage it would have " proved to the Republic, if I could have joined *Lepidus*: " As I ſhould have been able, and eſpecially with the aſſiſt- " ance of *Plancus*, to have diſſipated thoſe doubts which oc- " caſioned his delay in declaring for the Senate. But the let- " ters which I received from him being written (as you will " perceive by the copies I herewith tranſmit) in the ſame ſpi- " rit with thoſe ſpeeches, which it is ſaid, he made to his ar- " my at *Narbo*; I found it neceſſary to act with ſome ſort of " artifice towards him, if I hoped to obtain leave to march " my troops through his province. I was apprehenſive, like- " wiſe, if an engagement ſhould happen before I could exe- " cute my deſigns, *that the known friendſhip I had with An-* " *tony (though not ſuperior, indeed, to that which Plancus en-* " *tertained for him) would give my enemies an occaſion of miſ-* " *repreſenting my intentions.* For theſe reaſons I diſpatched " two couriers from *Gades* in the month of *April*, by two " different ſhips, with letters, not only to you and to *Octa-* " *vius*, but to the Conſuls alſo, requeſting to be informed " in what manner my ſervices might moſt avail to the Re- " public. But, if I am right in my calculation, theſe ſhips " did not ſail till the very day on which the battle was " fought between *Panſa* and *Antony*: As that was the ſooneſt, " I think, ſince the winter, that theſe ſeas were navigable. " To theſe reaſons for not marching, I muſt add, that *I had ſo* " *little apprehenſion of this civil war*, that I ſettled the winter- " quarters of my troops in the very remoteſt parts of *Luſi-* " *tania*. *Both armies, it ſhould ſeem, were as eager to come to* " *an action, as if their greateſt fears on each ſide were, leſt ſome* " *leſs deſtructive expedient might be found of compoſing our diſtur-* " *bances.*" This is a ſevere cenſure of *Cicero*'s management, and the ſtyle of the letter in general could not be agreeable to him.] " However, if circumſtances required *ſo much pre-* " *cipitation*, I muſt do *Hirtius* the juſtice to acknowledge,

" that

he was preſſed, therefore, to purſue *Antony*, he contrived ſtill to delay it, till it was too late; Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" that he conducted himſelf with all the ſkill and courage " of a conſummate General.

" I am informed, by my letters from that part of *Gaul* " which is under the command of *Lepidus*, that *Panſa*'s whole " army is cut to pieces, and that he himſelf is ſince dead of " his wounds. They add, that the *Martial* legion is intirely " deſtroyed, and that *Lucius Fabatus*, *Caius Peducæus*, and " *Decimus Carfulenus* are among the number of the ſlain. My " intelligence farther aſſures me, that, in the ſubſequent at- " tack by *Hirtius*, both he and *Antony* loſt all their legions; " That the *fourth* legion, after having taken *Antony*'s camp, " was engaged and defeated by the *fifth*, with terrible " ſlaughter: That *Hirtius*, together with *Pontius Aquila*, and, " as it is reported, *Octavius* likewiſe, were killed in the " action." [This gives ſome colour to *Antony*'s reproach, that *Octavius* fled from, and diſappeared for three days after the battle.] " If this ſhould prove true, which the gods " forbid, *I ſhall be very greatly concerned.* My advices far- " ther import, that *Antony* has, with great diſgrace, aban- " doned the ſiege of *Mutina*: However, that he has . . . " complete regiments of horſe ſtill remaining, together with " one which belongs to *Publius Bagienus*, as alſo a conſide- " rable number of diſarmed ſoldiers: That *Ventidius* has join- " ed him with the *ſeventh*, the *eighth*, and the *ninth* legions; " and that *Antony* is determined, if there ſhould be no hopes " of gaining *Lepidus*, to have recourſe to the laſt expedient, " and arm not only the Provincials, but even the ſlaves: In " fine, that *Lucius Antonius*, after having plundered the city " of *Parma*, has poſted himſelf upon the *Alps*. If theſe ſeve- " ral particulars are true, there is no time to be loſt: And " every man who wiſhes that the Republic, or even the name " of the *Roman* people, may ſubſiſt, ſhould immediately, " without waiting for the expreſs orders of the Senate, contri- " bute his utmoſt aſſiſtance to *extinguiſh theſe dreadful flames.* " I hear that *D. Brutus* is at the head of only ſeventeen co- " horts, together with two incomplete legions of new-raiſed

" troops,

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thinking he was more uſefully employed in ſecuring to his intereſts the troops of the Conſuls and

"troops, which had been levied by *Antony*. I doubt not, "however, that the remains of the forces commanded by "*Hirtius* will join him. I hope ſo, at leaſt; as there is lit-"tle, I think, to be expected from any new recruits that may "be raiſed; eſpecially ſince nothing can be more dangerous "than to give *Antony* time to recover ſtrength.

"My next letters from *Italy* will determine the plan of "my operations: And as the corn is now cut down, and "partly carried in, I ſhall be more at liberty to execute them "without obſtruction from the ſeaſon of the year. In the "mean time, let me aſſure you, that I will neither deſert nor "ſurvive the Republic. It is a misfortune, however, that "my diſtance from the ſcene of action is ſo great, and the "roads ſo infeſted, that it is often ſix weeks, and ſometimes "more, ere I can be informed of any event that has happen-"ed. Farewell."

This letter is without a date, but appears to have been written in the end of *June*, or the beginning of *July*.

Correſpondence between *Plancus* and *Cicero*.

L. Munatius Plancus, who had been Prætor during the *Spaniſh* war, was now Governor of farther *Gaul*, and had the command of three legions: Upon the death of *Cæſar*, *Cicero* employed all his art to engage him on the ſide of the Senate, (*See Ep. Fam.* x. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.) and *Plancus*, who was to ſucceed to the conſulate the year following, together with *D. Brutus*, thought it for his intereſt to declare in favour of the public Council of the State, which he ſaw ſupported by his Collegue elect, by the two Conſuls, and *Octavius*. He had heſitated long before he declared himſelf.

PLANCUS, Conſul Elect, to the Conſuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes, the Senate, and the Commons of *Rome*.

Ep. Fam. x. 8. Melm. xiii. 17.

"BEFORE I make any profeſſions with reſpect to my "future conduct, I deem it neceſſary to juſtify myſelf to thoſe "who may think that I have held the Republic *too long in* ſuſ-

and watching the motions of the Senate: And, beſides, moſt of the officers and ſoldiers in his army

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" *ſuſpence* concerning my deſigns. For I would by no means " have it imagined that I am atoning for my paſt behaviour, " when, in fact, I am only ſeizing the firſt favourable op- " portunity of publicly declaring a reſolution, which I have " long formed. I was in no ſort ignorant, however, that, at " a time of ſuch general and alarming confuſions, a leſs de- " liberate diſcovery of my intentions would have proved moſt " to my own private advantage: As I was ſenſible that ſeveral " of my fellow-citizens had been diſtinguiſhed with great " honours, by a more haſty explication of their purpoſes. " But as fortune has placed me in ſuch a ſituation that I " could not be earlier in teſtifying mine, without prejudicing " that cauſe, which I could better ſerve by concealing them; " I was willing to ſuffer for a ſeaſon in the good opinion of " the world, as I preferred the intereſt of the Public to that " of my own reputation. That this was the genuine mo- " tive of my proceedings cannot reaſonably, I truſt, be " queſtioned. For can it be ſuppoſed, that a man in my " proſperous circumſtances, and of my well-known courſe of " life, whoſe utmoſt hopes too were upon the very point of be- " ing crowned, could be capable either of meanly ſubmitting " to the deſtructive ambition of another, or impiouſly che- " riſhing any dangerous ſchemes of his own? But it required " ſome time, as well as much pains and expence, to render " myſelf able to perform thoſe aſſurances I purpoſed to give " to the Republic, and to every friend of her cauſe; that I " might not approach with mere empty profeſſions to the " aſſiſtance of my country, but with the power of performing " an effectual ſervice. To this end, as the army under my " command had been ſtrongly and frequently ſollicited to " revolt, it was neceſſary to perſuade them, that a moderate " reward, conferred by the general voice of the Common- " wealth, was far preferable to an infinitely greater, from " any ſingle hand. My next labour was to convince thoſe " many cities, which had been gained the laſt year by largeſ- " ſes and other donations, that theſe were obligations of no

" vali-

" validity, and that they ſhould endeavour to obtain the ſame " benefactions from a better and more honourable quarter. I " had ſtill the farther taſk, to prevail with thoſe who com- " manded in the neighbouring provinces to join with the " more numerous party, in a general aſſociation for the de- " fence of our common liberties, rather than unite with the " ſmaller number, in hopes of dividing the ſpoils of a victo- " ry, that muſt prove fatal to the whole world. Add to this, " that I was obliged to augment my own troops and thoſe of " my auxiliaries; that I might have nothing to fear, when- " ever I ſhould think proper, contrary to the inclination of " ſome about me, openly to avow the cauſe it was my reſoluti- " on to defend. Now I ſhall never be aſhamed to acknow- " ledge, that, in order to bring theſe ſeveral ſchemes to bear, " I ſubmitted, tho' very unwillingly, indeed, to the mortifica- " tion of *diſſembling* the intentions I really had, and of *coun-* " *terfeiting* thoſe which I certainly had not: *As the fate of my* " *collegue* [D. Brutus] *had taught me how dangerous it is for a* " *man, who means well to his country, to divulge his reſolutions,* " *ere he is ſufficiently prepared to carry them into execution.*" [To what particular circumſtance of *Decimus*'s conduct *Plancus* alludes, hiſtory does not diſcover: Perhaps he indiſcreetly threatened, in his conſulate, to annul *Antony*'s acts, which imprudent declaration of his ſentiments engaged *Antony* to diſpoſſeſs him of the important province of *Ciſalpine Gaul.*] " For this " reaſon it was that I directed my brave and worthy Lieute- " nant, *C. Furnius*, to repreſent to you, more fully than I " thought prudent to explain in my diſpatches, thoſe mea- " ſures which ſeemed neceſſary both for the preſervation of " this province, and of the Republic in general; as being " the more concealed method of conveying my ſentiments to " you upon that ſubject, as well as the ſafer with reſpect to " myſelf.

" It appears then, that I have long been ſecretly attentive " to the defence of the Commonwealth. But, now that, by " the bounty of the gods, I am in every reſpect better pre- " pared for that purpoſe, I deſire to give the world not only " reaſon to hope well of my intentions, but clear and un- " doubted proofs of their ſincerity.

" I have five legions in readineſs to march; all of them " zealouſly attached to the Republic, and diſpoſed by my " libe-

" liberalities to pay an intire obedience to my orders. The " ſame diſpoſition appears in every city throughout this pro- " vince: As they earneſtly vie with each other in giving me " the ſtrongeſt marks of their duty. Accordingly they have " furniſhed me with as conſiderable a body of auxiliary for- " ces both horſe and foot, as they could poſſibly have raiſed " for the ſupport of their own national liberties. As for my- " ſelf, I am ready either to remain here, in order to protect " this province, or to march whereſoever elſe the Republic " ſhall demand my ſervices. I will offer you another al- " ternative; and either reſign my troops and government into " any hands that ſhall be appointed, or draw upon myſelf the " whole weight of the war: If, by this means, I may be able " to eſtabliſh the tranquillity of my country, or even retard " thoſe calamities with which it is threatened.

" If, at the time I am making theſe declarations, our pub- " lic diſturbances ſhould happily be compoſed, I ſhall rejoice " in an event ſo advantageous to the Commonwealth, not- " withſtanding the honour I ſhall loſe by being too late in the " tender of my ſervices." [This paſſage ſufficiently diſcovers, ſays M. *Melmoth*, the true motive of *Plancus*'s preſent decla- rations: As they appear evidently to have flowed from ſome reaſon he had to believe, that the conteſt between *Antony* and the Senate was likely to be adjuſted in an amicable man- ner.] " But, on the contrary, if I am early enough in my " offers to bear a full part in all the dangers of the war, let " me recommend it to every man of juſtice and candour " to vindicate me againſt the malevolence of thoſe, whom " envy may prompt to aſperſe my character.

" In my own particular, I deſire no greater reward for my " ſervices, than the ſatisfaction of having contributed to the " ſecurity of the Republic. But I think myſelf bound to re- " commend thoſe brave and worthy men to your eſpecial " favour, who, partly in compliance with my perſuaſions, " but much more in confidence of your good faith, would not " ſuffer themſelves to be prevailed upon by all the applica- " tions that have been made, both to their hopes and their " fears, to depart from their duty to the Commonwealth."

This letter, which bears no date, appears to have been written in the beginning of *March*: *Cicero*'s anſwer to it, *Ep. Fam.*

Fam. x. 10. *Melm.* xiii. 18, is dated *March* the *30th*. In a ſubſequent letter, received at *Rome* the *7th* of *April*, which is loſt, he ſent the Senate a more ſatisfactory account of his deſigns, and acquainted them that he had begun his march towards *Italy*, which afforded *Cicero* an occaſion to move, that honours ſhould be decreed him: The following very inſtructive letter is an account of the debates of the Senate on that occaſion.

CICERO to PLANCUS.

Ep. Fam. x. 12. Melm. xiii. 20.

" IT is principally for the ſake of my country, that I ought " to rejoice in the very powerful ſuccours with which you have " ſtrengthened the Republic, at a juncture when it is well- " nigh reduced to the laſt extremity. I proteſt, however, by " all my hopes of congratulating you on the victorious deli- " verance of the Commonwealth, that a conſiderable part of " the joy which I feel, upon this occaſion, ariſes from the " ſhare I take in your glory. Great, indeed, is the reputa- " tion you have already acquired; and great, I am perſua- " ded, are the honours that will hereafter be paid to you: " For, aſſure yourſelf, nothing could make a ſtronger impreſſi- " on upon the Senate than your *late letter* to that aſſembly. " It did ſo, both with reſpect to thoſe very important ſervices " which it brought us an account you had performed, and " with regard to that ſtrength of ſentiment and expreſſion " with which it was drawn up. It contained nothing, how- " ever, which was in the leaſt unexpected to myſelf: As I " was not only perfectly well acquainted with your heart, and " had not forgotten the promiſes you had given me in your " letters; but as I had received from *Furnius* a full information " of all your deſigns. They appeared, however, to the Senate, " *much beyond what they had allowed themſelves to hope:* Not " that they ever entertained the leaſt doubt of your diſpoſiti- " on, but becauſe they were by no means ſufficiently appriſed " either of what you were in a condition to effect, or whi- " ther you purpoſed to march. It was with infinite plea- " ſure, therefore, that I read the letter, which *M. Variſidius* " delivered to me on your part. I received it, on the *7th* " of this month in the morning, amidſt a large circle of very " worthy citizens, who were attending in order to conduct me

" from

" from my houſe: And I immediately gave them a ſhare in " my joy. Whilſt we were mutually congratulating each " other upon this happy occurrence, *Munatius* [*Plancus*'s bro- " ther] came to pay me his uſual morning-viſit; to whom I " likewiſe communicated your letter. It was the firſt notice he " had received of an expreſs being arrived from you: As *Va-* " *riſidius*, in purſuance of your directions, did not deliver " any of his diſpatches till he had firſt waited upon me. A " ſhort time, however, after *Munatius* had left me, he return- " ed, with your letter to himſelf, together alſo with that which " you wrote to the Senate. We thought proper to carry the " latter immediately to *Cornutus*, who, *as Prætor of the city,* " *ſupplies the office of the Conſuls, in their abſence, agreeably,* " *you know, to an ancient and eſtabliſhed cuſtom.* The Senate " was inſtantly ſummoned: And the expectation, that was " raiſed by the general report of an expreſs being arrived from " you, brought together a very full aſſembly. As ſoon as " your letter was read, *it was objected that* CORNUTUS *had* " *not taken the auſpices in a proper manner: And this ſcruple* " *was confirmed by the general ſentiment of our college* [*of Au-* " *gurs.*] *In conſequence of this, the Senate was adjourned to the* " *following day:* When I had a warm conteſt with *Servilius*, " who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the paſſing of any decree to your " honour. For this purpoſe, he had the intereſt [with *Cor-* " *nutus*] to procure his own motion to be firſt propoſed to " the Senate: Which being rejected, however, by a great " majority, mine was next taken into conſideration. But, " when the Senate had unanimouſly agreed to it, *P. Titius* " [one of the Tribunes] at the inſtigation of *Servilius*, inter- " poſed his negative. The farther deliberation, therefore, " upon this affair was poſtponed to the next day: When " *Servilius* came, prepared to ſupport an oppoſition, which in " ſome ſort might be conſidered as injurious to the honour " even of *Jupiter* himſelf, as it was in the Capitol that the " Senate, upon this occaſion, was aſſembled. I leave it to " your other friends to inform you, in what manner I morti- " fied *Servilius*, and with how much warmth I expoſed the " contemptible interpoſition of *Titius*. But this I will myſelf " aſſure you, that the Senate could not poſſibly act with great- " er dignity and ſpirit, or ſhew a ſtronger diſpoſition to ad-

" vance

" vance your honours, than it diſcovered upon this occaſi-
" on. Nor are you leſs in favour with the whole city in ge-
" neral: As, indeed, all orders and degrees of men amongſt
" us remarkably concur in the ſame common zeal for the de-
" liverance of the Republic. Perſevere then, my friend, in
" the glorious courſe upon which you have entered: And let
" nothing leſs than immortal fame be the object of your well-
" directed ambition. Deſpiſe the falſe ſplendor of all
" thoſe empty honours that are ſhort, tranſitory, and pe-
" riſhable. True glory is founded upon virtue alone: Which
" is never ſo illuſtriouſly diſtinguiſhed, as when it diſplays
" itſelf by important ſervices to our country. You have at
" this time a moſt favourable opportunity for that purpoſe:
" Which, as you have already embraced, let it not ſlip out
" of your hands till you ſhall have employed it to full ad-
" vantage; leſt it be ſaid, that you are more obliged to the
" Republic than the Republic is obliged to you. As for
" my own part, you will always find me ready to contribute
" to the advancement, as well as to the ſupport of your digni-
" ties: As, indeed, it is what I owe, not only to our friend-
" ſhip, but to the Commonwealth, which is far dearer to me
" than life itſelf. Farewell." *April* the 11th.

PLANCUS to CICERO.

. . . . . .

Ep. Fam. x. 9. Melm. xiv. 2.

" I paſſed the *Rhone*, with my whole army, on the *27th* of
" *April:* And immediately ordered a detachment of a *thou-*
" *ſand horſe*" [or rather *three thouſand* horſe, as they are numbered in a ſubſequent letter] " to advance before me from
" *Vienna*, by a ſhorter road, and by long marches. If I meet
" with no obſtructions on the part of *Lepidus*, the Republic
" will have reaſon to be ſatisfied with my diligence and ex-
" pedition: But, if he ſhould attempt to intercept my paſſage,
" I muſt take my meaſures as circumſtances ſhall require. Of
" this, however, I will now aſſure you, that the army I am
" conducting is highly reſpectable, whether conſidered with
" regard to the nature, the number, or the fidelity of my
" troops. I will only add, that I deſire your friendſhip upon
" no other terms, than as you are ſure I ſhall always give you
" the warmeſt returns of mine."

CICERO

CICERO to PLANCUS.

"HOW pleaſing was the letter I received from you two "days before our victory at *Mutina*: Wherein you gave me "an account of the ſtate of your troops, of your zeal for the "Republic, and of the expedition with which you were ad- "vancing to the relief of *Brutus*. But, notwithſtanding the "enemy was defeated before you could join our army, the "hopes, nevertheleſs, of the Commonwealth are ſtill fixed "intirely upon you: As the principal Leaders of theſe infa- "mous Rebels have eſcaped, it is ſaid, from the field of "battle. You will remember, therefore, *that to exterminate the "remains of this party will be a ſervice no leſs acceptable to the "Senate, than if you had given them the firſt repulſe.* Ep. Fam. x. 14. Melm. xiv. 4.

"I am waiting, as well as many others, with great impati- "ence, for the return of your couriers. I hope that our late "ſucceſs will now induce even *Lepidus* himſelf to act in con- "cert with you for the defence of the common cauſe. I in- "treat you, my dear *Plancus*, to employ your utmoſt en- "deavours for this important purpoſe; that every ſpark of "this horrid war may be utterly and for ever extinguiſhed. If "you ſhould be able to effect this, you will render a moſt "godlike ſervice to your country, and, at the ſame time, pro- "cure immortal honour to yourſelf. Farewell." *May* the *5th.*

Cicero, after *Antony*'s defeat at *Mutina*, obtained of the Senate the honours in favour of *Plancus*, which *Servilius* and the Tribune *Titius* had oppoſed before with ſucceſs.

PLANCUS to CICERO.

"I GIVE you a thouſand and a thouſand thanks for "your late favours, which, as long as I live, I ſhall always "moſt gratefully acknowledge; more than this I dare not "venture to promiſe. For I fear it will never be in my pow- "er to acquit ſuch uncommon obligations: Unleſs you ſhould "think, (what your letter endeavours, indeed, with much "ſerious eloquence, to perſuade me) that to remember them is "to return them. You could not have acted with a more "affectionate zeal, if the dignities of your own ſon had been Ep. Fam. x. 11. Melm. xiv. 7.

"in

" in queſtion; and I am perfectly ſenſible of the high ho-
" nours that were decreed to me in conſequence of your
" firſt motion for that purpoſe. I am ſenſible too, that all
" your ſubſequent votes, in my behalf, were intirely confor-
" mable to the circumſtances of the times, and the opinion
" of my friends; as I am informed, likewiſe, of the advan-
" tageous colours, in which you are perpetually repreſenting
" me, as well as of the frequent conteſts you ſuſtain with my
" injurious detractors. It is incumbent upon me, therefore,
" in the firſt place, to endeavour to convince the Republic,
" that I am worthy of the praiſes you beſtow upon me; and,
" in the next place, to render you ſenſible, that I gratefully
" bear your friendſhip in remembrance. I will only add, un-
" der this article, that I deſire you to protect me in the ho-
" nours I have thus procured by your influence: But I deſire
" it no otherwiſe than as my actions ſhall prove that I am the
" man you wiſh to find me.

" As ſoon as I had paſſed the *Rhone*, I detached a body of
" three thouſand horſe, under the conduct of my brother,
" with orders to advance towards *Mutina*; to which place I
" intended to follow them with the reſt of my army. But, on
" my march thither, I received advice that an action had hap-
" pened, and that the ſiege was raiſed. *Antony*, I find, has
" no other reſource left, but to return into theſe parts, with
" the remains of his broken forces. His only hopes, indeed,
" are, that he may be able either to gain *Lepidus*, or his ar-
" my: In which there are ſome troops no leſs diſaffected to the
" Republic, than thoſe which ſerved under *Antony* himſelf. I
" thought proper, therefore to recall my cavalry, and to halt
" in the country of the *Allobroges*, that I might be ready to
" act as circumſtances ſhall require. If *Antony* ſhould re-
" tire into this country, deſtitute of men, I make no
" doubt, notwithſtanding he ſhould be received by the ar-
" my of *Lepidus*, to be able to give a good account of him
" with my preſent forces. Should he even appear at the
" head of ſome troops, and ſhould *the tenth veteran legion* re-
" volt, which, together with the reſt, was, by my means,
" prevailed upon to engage in the ſervice of the Republic;
" yet I ſhall endeavour, by acting on the defenſive, to prevent
" him from gaining any advantage over us: Which I hope to
" effect, till a reinforcement from *Italy* ſhall enable me to ex-

" ter

army were attached to *Antony*. *D. Brutus* was, from the firſt apprehenſive of his change [f], and, why

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" terminate this deſperate crew. I will venture, at leaſt, to " aſſure you, my dear *Cicero*, neither zeal nor vigilance ſhall " be wanting on my part for that purpoſe. It is my ſincere " wiſh, indeed, that the Senate may have no farther fears: " But, if any ſhould ſtill remain, no man will enter into their " cauſe with greater warmth and ſpirit, nor be willing to ſuffer " more in the ſupport of it, than myſelf.

" I am endeavouring to engage *Lepidus* to join with me in " the ſame views: And I have promiſed him, if he will act " with a regard to the intereſt of the Republic, that I ſhall, " upon all occaſions, yield him an entire deference. I have " employed my brother, together with *Furnius* and *Laterenſis*, " to negociate this aſſociation between us, and no private " injury done to myſelf ſhall ever prevent me from concur- " ring with my greateſt enemy, whenever it may be neceſſary " for the defence of the Commonwealth. But, notwith- " ſtanding theſe overtures ſhould prove unſucceſsful, I ſhall " ſtill perſevere with the ſame zeal (and perhaps with more " glory) in my endeavours to give ſatisfaction to the Se- " nate."

[f] D. Brutus to Cicero.

Correſpondence between *D. Brutus* and *Cicero*. Ep. Fam. xi. 9. Melm. xiv. 3.

" YOU are ſenſible how great a loſs the Republic has " ſuſtained, by the death of *Panſa*. It behoves you, there- " fore, to exert all your credit and addreſs to prevent our ene- " mies from entertaining any reaſonable hope of recovering " their ſtrength, now that we have loſt both our Conſuls. I " am preparing to purſue *Antony* immediately: And, I truſt, " ſhall be able to render it impoſſible either for *Antony* to con- " tinue in *Italy*, or for *Ventidius* to eſcape out of it.——I " make it my firſt and principal requeſt, that you would ſend " to *Lepidus*, in order, if poſſible, to prevent that light and " inconſtant man from renewing the war, by joining *Antony*; " as to *Pollio*, I ſuppoſe you ſee very clearly the meaſures he " will purſue!" [that he will act in concert with *Lepidus*.] " They are both at the head of very numerous and warlike

" legi-

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why he himſelf was not able to purſue his enemy ſo ſoon as he wiſhed, he gives the following reaſons in a letter to *Cicero.*

D. BRUTUS

"legions. I do not mention this as imagining you are not "equally attentive to this important point; *but from a "firm perſuaſion that* LEPIDUS, *however dubious it may, per- "haps, appear to the Senate, will never act of himſelf in the "manner he ought.* Let me intreat you, likewiſe, to confirm "*Plancus* in his preſent reſolutions: Who, I ſhould hope, "when he ſees *Antony* driven out of *Italy*, will not be wanting "in his aſſiſtance to the Republic. If the latter ſhould have "croſſed the *Alps*, I purpoſe to poſt a proper number of "forces to guard the paſſes of thoſe mountains: And you may "depend upon my giving you regular notice of all my moti- "ons." From my camp at *Regium* [*Reggio* between *Modena* and *Parma*] *April* the *29th.*

D. BRUTUS to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. xi. 10. Melm. xiv. 6.

"I LOOK upon the obligations I have received from "you, as nothing inferior even to thoſe which I have confer- "red upon the Republic: But I am not capable, you are well "aſſured, of making you ſo ill a return as I have experien- "ced from ſome of my ungrateful countrymen. It might, "perhaps, in the preſent conjuncture, be thought to have "ſomewhat of the air of flattery to ſay, that your ſingle ap- "plauſe outweighs, in my eſteem, their whole united appro- "bation. It is certain, however, that you view my acti- "ons by the faithful light of diſpaſſionate truth and reaſon: "Whereas they, on the contrary, look upon them through "the darkeſt clouds of envy and malevolence. But I am "little concerned how much ſoever they may oppoſe my ho- "nours, provided they do not obſtruct me in my ſervices to the "Republic: *the very dangerous ſituation of which let me now "point out to you*, in as few words as poſſible.

"In the firſt place, you are ſenſible, *what great diſtur- "bances the death of the Conſuls may create in Rome: As it may "give occaſion to all the dangerous practices that ambition will*

D. Brutus to Cicero.

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Ep. Fam. xi. 13. Melm. xiv. 17.

"IF you will look back into my former let-
"ters, you cannot be at a loſs to diſcover the rea-
"ſons

"*ſuggeſt to thoſe who are deſirous of ſucceeding to their office.*
"*This is all that prudence will allow me to ſay in a letter;*
"*and all, indeed, that is neceſſary to be ſaid to a man of your*
"*penetration.*" [No, *Cicero*, the Prophet, had not this pene-
tration, or wilfully ſhut his eyes.]—"As to *Antony*, not-
"withſtanding he made his eſcape from the field of battle
"with but a very few troops, and thoſe too entirely diſarm-
"ed; yet, by ſetting open the priſons, and by preſſing all
"ſorts of men that fell in his way, he has collected no con-
"temptible number of forces. Theſe have, likewiſe been
"conſiderably augmented by the acceſſion of the veteran and
"other troops of *Ventidius:* Who, after a very difficult
"march, over the *Apennine* mountains, has found means to
"join *Antony* in the fens of *Sabata.*" [Between the *Alps* and the *Apennines* on the coaſt of *Genoa.*] "The only poſſible
"ſcheme which the latter can purſue is either to have recourſe
"to *Lepidus*, if that General ſhould be diſpoſed to receive
"him; or to poſt himſelf on the *Alps* and *Apennines*, in or-
"der to make depredations with his cavalry (in which he is
"exceedingly ſtrong) on the neighbouring country; or to
"march into *Etruria*," [*Tuſcany*] "where we have no army
"to oppoſe him. *Had* Cæsar, *however, paſſed the Apennine*
"*mountains, agreeably to my advice, I ſhould have driven An-*
"*tony into ſuch difficulties, that, perhaps, without ſtriking a*
"*ſingle blow, I ſhould have been able to have waſted his whole*
"*army by famine.* But the misfortune is, *that Cæſar will*
"*neither be governed by me, nor will his army be governed*
"*by him:* Both which are very unhappy circumſtances for
"our cauſe. This then being the ſad ſtate of public affairs,
"can I be ſollicitous, as I ſaid above, what oppoſition I
"may meet with in reſpect to my own perſonal honours?
"*The particulars I have here mentioned are of ſo very delicate*
"*a nature, that I know not how you will be able to touch*

"*upon*

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" ſons that prevented me from purſuing *Antony*, " immediately after the battle of *Mutina*. The " truth,

" *upon them in the Senate: Or, if you ſhould, I fear it will be* " *to no purpoſe.*—In the mean time, I am in no condition to " ſubſiſt my troops any longer. When I firſt took up " arms for the deliverance of the Commonwealth, I had a- " bove four hundred thouſand ſeſtertia," [about 322,000l. ſterl.] " in ready money: But, at preſent, I have not only " mortgaged every part of my eſtate, but have borrowed all I " could poſſibly raiſe on the credit of my friends. I leave " you to judge, therefore, with what difficulty I now main- " tain ſeven legions at my own expence. The truth is, I " ſhould not be equal to ſo great a charge, were I poſſeſſed " of all *Varro*'s immenſe treaſures.—As ſoon as I ſhall receive " any certain information of *Antony*'s motions, I will give you " notice." From my camp at *Tertona* [*Tortona*, about 30 miles from *Genoa*,] *May* the 5*th*.

D. Brutus to Cicero.

Ep. Fam. xi. 11. Melm. xiv. 8.

" . . . . . " I gave you an account, in my laſt, " of the poſture of our affairs: Since which I have received " intelligence, that *Antony* is on his march towards *Lepidus*. " Among ſome papers of *Antony*, which are fallen into my " hands, I found a liſt of the ſeveral perſons, whom he in- " tended to employ as mediators in his behalf with *Pollio*, *Le-* " *pidus*, and *Plancus*: So that *he has not yet, it ſeems, given* " *up all hopes of gaining the latter*. Nevertheleſs, I did not " heſitate to ſend an immediate expreſs to *Plancus*, with ad- " vice of *Antony*'s march. I expect within few days to re- " ceive ambaſſadors from the *Allobroges*, and all the other " diſtricts of this province; and I doubt not of diſmiſſing " them ſtrongly confirmed in their allegiance to the Republic. " You will be attentive, on your part, I dare ſay, to promote " all ſuch neceſſary meaſures at *Rome* as ſhall be agreeable to " your ſentiments, and to the intereſt of the Commonwealth. " I am equally perſuaded that you will prevent, if it be poſ- " ſible to prevent, the malevolent ſchemes of my enemies.

" But,

" truth, my dear *Cicero* is, that I was not only " unprovided both with cavalry and baggage- M 2 " horſes, Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" But, if you ſhould not ſucceed in theſe generous endea- " vours, you will, at leaſt, have the ſatisfaction to find that " no indignities they can throw upon me are capable of de- " terring me from my purpoſes. From my camp on the " frontiers of the *Statiellenſes*," [A territory in *Liguria*, the principal town of which was *Aquæ Statiellorum*, now called *Aqui*, in the diſtrict of *Montferrat*.] *May* the 5th.

CICERO to D. BRUTUS, Conſul Elect.

" THE meſſage you commiſſioned *Galba* and *Volumnius* " to deliver to the Senate ſufficiently intimates the nature of " thoſe fears and ſuſpicions, which you imagine we have rea- " ſon to entertain. But I muſt confeſs that the apprehenſi- " ons you would thus infuſe into us ſeem by no means wor- " thy of that glorious victory you have obtained over the ene- " mies of the Commonwealth. Believe me, my dear *Bru- " tus*, both the Senate, and the Generals that ſupport its " cauſe, are animated with an undaunted reſolution: We " were ſorry, therefore, that you, whom we eſteem the bra- " veſt Captain that ever the Republic employed, ſhould think " us capable of any timidity. Is it poſſible, indeed, after " having confidently repoſed our hopes on your courage and " conduct, when you were inveſted by *Antony* in all the ful- " neſs of his ſtrength and power, that any of us ſhould har- " bour the leaſt fear, now that the ſiege is raiſed, and the ene- " my's army entirely overthrown. Nor have we any thing, " ſurely, to apprehend from *Lepidus*. For who can imagine " him ſo utterly void of all rational conduct, as to have pro- " feſſed himſelf an advocate for peace, when we were enga- " ged in a moſt *neceſſary* and important war; and yet to take " up arms, the moment that peace is reſtored? You are far " too ſagacious, I doubt not, to entertain ſuch a thought." [For the honour of *Cicero*'s ſagacity, we muſt ſuppoſe that he is not in earneſt.] " Nevertheleſs, the fears you have renewed " amongſt us, at a time, when every temple throughout Ep. Fam. xi. 18. Melm. xiv. 11.

" *Rome*

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" horſes, but, not having, at that time, had an " interview with *Cæſar*, I could not depend up- " on

" *Rome* is reſounding with our thankſgivings for your deli- " verance, has caſt a very conſiderable damp upon our joy. " May the fact prove then, what indeed I am inclined to be- " lieve, as well as hope, that *Antony* is completely vanquiſh- " ed. But, ſhould he happen to recover ſome degree of " ſtrength, he will moſt aſſuredly find, that neither the Se- " nate is deſtitute of wiſdom, nor the People of courage: I " will add too, nor the Republic of a General, ſo long as " you ſhall be alive to lead forth her armies." *May* the 19*th*.

CICERO to D. BRUTUS, Conſul Elect.

Ep. Fam. xi. 14. Melm. xiv. 14.

" IT is with infinite ſatisfaction, my dear *Brutus*, that I find " you approve my conduct in the Senate, with reſpect both to " the *Decemvirs*," [They were probably the ten perſons whom the Senate, in the firſt tranſports of joy for their ſuppoſed complete victory over *Antony*, had appointed to inquire into his conduct during his late conſulſhip] " and to the ho- " nours decreed to our young man. Yet, after all, what " have my labours availed? Believe me, my friend, and *you* " *know I am not apt to boaſt*, the Senate was the grand en- " gine of my power: But all thoſe ſprings, which I uſed ſo " ſucceſsfully to manage, have utterly loſt their force, and " *I can no longer direct its motions.* The truth of it is, the " news of your glorious ſally with the garriſon of *Mutina*, of " *Antony*'s flight, and of his army being intirely cut to pie- " ces, had inſpired ſuch confident hopes of a complete victo- " ry, that the diſappointment has caſt a general damp up- " on the ſpirit I had raiſed againſt our enemies: And all my " ardent invectives ſeem at laſt to have proved juſt as inſignifi- " cant as if I had been combating with my own ſhadow. " But to the purpoſe of your letter.—Thoſe, who are ac- " quainted with the diſpoſitions of the *fourth* and *Martial* " legions, aſſure me, they will never be prevailed on to ſerve " under you. As to the ſupply of money, which you deſire, " ſome meaſures may, and moſt aſſuredly ſhall, be taken, in or- " der

" on his aſſiſtance: And I was wholly ignorant " likewiſe, that *Hirtius* was killed. This will " ac- Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" der to raiſe it.—I am wholly in your ſentiments, with regard " to the calling *Brutus* out of *Greece*, and retaining *Cæſar* " here for the protection of *Italy*. I agree with you, like- " wiſe, my dear *Brutus*, that you have enemies: And, though " I find it, indeed, no very difficult matter to ſuſtain their " attacks, yet ſtill, however, they ſomewhat embarraſs my " ſchemes in your favour.—The legions from *Africa* are " daily expected. In the mean time, the world is greatly a- " ſtoniſhed to find that the war is broke out again in your pro- " vince. Nothing, in truth, ever happened ſo unexpected- " ly: As we had promiſed ourſelves, from the account of " the victory, which was brought to us on your birth-day, " that the peace of the Republic was eſtabliſhed for many ge- " nerations. But, now, all our fears are revived, with as " much ſtrength as ever.—You mentioned, in your letter, da- " ted the 15*th* of *May*," [it is loſt] " that you was juſt inform- " ed, by an expreſs from *Plancus*, that *Lepidus* had refuſed to " receive *Antony*. Should this prove to be fact, our buſineſs " will be ſo much the eaſier; if not, we ſhall have a very diffi- " cult ſtruggle to maintain; and it depends upon you to eaſe " me of my great apprehenſions for the event. As for my " own part, I have exhauſted all my powers, and am utter- " ly incapable of doing more than I have already performed. " It is far otherwiſe, however, with my friend: And I not on- " ly wiſh, but expect, to ſee you the greateſt and moſt diſtin- " guiſhed of *Romans*. Farewell."

CICERO to D. BRUTUS, Conſul Elect.

" I AM indebted to you for your ſhort letter by *Flaccus* " *Volumnius*, as well as for two others more full; one of which " was brought by the courier of *T. Vibius*, as the other was " forwarded to me by *Lupus*: And all of them came to my " hands on the ſame day. I find, by your own account, as " well as by that which *Græcius* has given me, that the war, " ſo far from being extinguiſhed, ſeems to be breaking out a- Ep. Fam. xi. 12. Melm. xiv. 16.

" gain

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" account for my not having purſued *Antony* on " the day of the engagement. The day follow-

" gain with greater violence. You are ſenſible, if *Antony* " ſhould gain any ſtrength, that all your illuſtrious ſervices " to the Republic will be utterly fruſtrated. The firſt ac- " counts we received here, and which, indeed, were univer- " ſally credited, repreſented him as having run away in " great conſternation; attended only with a few frightened " and diſarmed ſoldiers. But if *the truth, after all, ſhould be* " (what *Græceius* aſſures me, *that* ANTONY *is in fact ſo ſtrong,* " *as to render it unſafe to give him battle; he does not ſeem ſo* " *much to have fled from* Mutina, *as to have changed the ſeat of* " *war.* This unexpected news has given all *Rome* another " countenance, and a general air of diſappointment appears in " every face. *There are even ſome amongſt us, who complain of* " *your not having immediately purſued* ANTONY, *as they ima-* " *gine, if no time had been loſt, that he muſt inevitably have* " *been deſtroyed.* But it is uſual with the people in all go- " vernments, and eſpecially in ours, to be particularly diſ- " poſed to abuſe their liberty, by licentious reflections on " thoſe to whom they are indebted for the enjoyment of it. " *However, one ſhould be careful not to give them any juſt cauſe* " *for their cenſures.*" [The letter copied above, in the body of the hiſtory, is the anſwer to this unreaſonable, unſeaſonable, and ungenerous reflection]—" *To ſay all in one word,* " *whoever deſtroys* ANTONY *will have the glory of termina-* " *ting the war*: A HINT WHICH I HAD RATHER LEAVE TO " YOUR OWN REFLECTIONS, THAN ENTER MYSELF INTO " A MORE OPEN EXPLANATION. Farewell." [In a letter to *Plancus*, Ep. Fam. x. 13. Melm. xiv. 5. we find the ſame *hint*. " Let me only intreat you to finiſh the work, which o- " thers have ſo happily begun; remembering, that whoever " ſhall deſtroy *Antony* will have the whole honour of concluding this war. It is thus that *Homer* gives the glory, not " to *Ajax* or *Achilles*, but to *Ulyſſes* alone, of having exterminated *Troy*." His meaning could hardly be miſtaken, *that any ſtratagem would be fair and honourable, which ſhould for ever remove* ANTONY *out of their way.* See *Melmoth*, Vol. III. p. 260.]

" ing

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" ing I received an expreſs from *Panſa* to attend " him at *Bononia:* But, in my way thither, be- " ing informed of his death, I immediately re- " turned back to join my *little corps.* I may juſt- " ly call them ſo, indeed, as my forces are great- " ly diminiſhed, and in a very bad condition, " from the great hardſhips they ſuffered during " the ſiege. It was by theſe means that *Antony* " got two days advance of me: And, as he " marched in diſorder, he could retire much faſ- " ter than it was in my power to purſue. He in- " creaſed his forces likewiſe, by preſſing the " inhabitants, and throwing open the priſons, " in every town through which he paſſed: And " in this manner he continued his march, till he " arrived in the *Fens of Sabata.* This is a place " with which I muſt bring you acquainted. It " is ſituated between the *Alps* and the *Apennines,* " and the roads that lie about it are ſcarce practi- " cable. When I had reached within thirty miles " of *Antony,* I was informed that he had been " joined by *Ventidius,* and had made a ſpeech at " the head of their combined troops, to perſuade " them to follow him over the *Alps*; aſſuring " them *that* LEPIDUS *had agreed to ſupport him.* " Nevertheleſs, not only his own ſoldiers, which, " indeed, are a very inconſiderable number, but " thoſe likewiſe of *Ventidius,* wholly and unani- " mouſly declared, that they were determined " either to conquer, or periſh in *Italy:* And, " at the ſame time, deſired they might be con- " ducted to *Pollentia*[g]. *Antony* found it in vain

[g] Some remains of this city ſtill ſubſiſt, under the name of *Polen-*

Y. R. 719. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" to oppoſe them: However, he deferred his " march till the enſuing day. As ſoon as I re- " ceived this intelligence, I detached five cohorts " to *Pollentia:* And am now following them " with the remainder of my troops. This de- " tachment threw themſelves into that city an " hour before *Trebellius* arrived with his cavalry: " A circumſtance which gives me great ſatisfacti- " on, as it is a point, I think, upon which our " whole ſucceſs depends. When the enemy " found their deſigns were thus fruſtrated, they " conceived hopes of croſſing the *Alps* into *Gaul:* " As they ſuppoſed the four legions commanded " by *Plancus* would not be able to withſtand their " united forces; and that an army from *Italy* " could not overtake them ſoon enough to pre- " vent their paſſage. However, the *Allobroges,* " together with my detachment, have hitherto " been ſufficient to prevent their deſign: Which, " I truſt, they will find ſtill more difficult to ef- " fect, when I ſhall come up with the reſt of my " forces. But, ſhould they happen, in the mean " time, to paſs the *Iſara* [*Iſere*], I ſhall exert my " utmoſt endeavours that this circumſtance may " not be attended with any ill conſequences to the " Commonwealth.

" Let it raiſe the ſpirits and hopes of the Se- " nate, to obſerve, that *Plancus* and myſelf, to- " gether with our reſpective armies, act in per- " fect concert with each other, and are ready to

Polenzo. It is ſituated at the confluence of the *Stura* and the *Tanaro,* in *Piedmont.*

" hazard

"hazard every danger in ſupport of the common "cauſe. However, whilſt you thus confident- "ly rely on our zeal and diligence, you will re- "mit nothing, I hope, of your own; but em- "ploy your utmoſt care to ſend us a reinforce- "ment, as well as every other neceſſary ſupply, "that may render us in a condition to defend "your liberties againſt thoſe who have infa- "mouſly conſpired their ruin. One cannot, in- "deed, but look upon theſe our enemies with ſo "much the greater indignation, as they have "acted with the vileſt hypocriſy; and ſudden- "ly turned thoſe troops againſt their country, "which they long pretended to have raiſed for "its defence." Y.R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

This authentic account from *D. Brutus* confutes two facts, which are delivered by *Appian*, and generally received by all the modern hiſtorians; firſt, that *Octavius*, after the victory, refuſed to have any conference with *D. Brutus*; and that *Brutus*, for that reaſon, forbad him to enter his province, or to purſue *Antony*: Secondly, that *Panſa*, in his laſt moments, ſent for *Octavius* and adviſed him to an union with *Antony* againſt the Senate. Both the ſtories ſeem to have been forged afterwards to ſave *Octavius*'s honour, and give a better colour to that ſudden change of meaſures, which, from this hour, he was determined to purſue [h]. Middl. p. 439. L. iii. p. 573.

D. Bru-

[h] There is an original medal ſtill remaining, that gives no ſmall confirmation to this notion; and was ſtruck probably at *Rome*, either by *Panſa* himſelf, upon his marching out towards

V. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

D. Brutus complains, in all his letters, of his want of money and the ſad condition of his army, which was not contemptible for the number, but for the kind of his troops; being, for the moſt part, new-raiſed, bare, and needy of all things. He deſired, therefore, a preſent ſupply of money, and ſome veteran legions, eſpecially the *fourth* and *Martial*, which continued ſtill with *Octavius*. This was readily decreed to him by the Senate, at the motion of *Druſus* and *Paulus*, *Lepidus*'s brother; but the legions refuſed to ſerve under him. He had alſo deſired *Cicero* to write to *Lepidus* not to receive *Antony*, *though he was ſure*, he ſays, *that* LEPIDUS *would never do any thing that was right:* And wiſhes, likewiſe, that *Cicero* would confirm *Plancus*; ſince, by ſome of *Antony*'s papers, which fell into his hands, he perceived that *Antony* had not loſt all hopes of him; and thought himſelf ſure of *Lepidus* and *Pollio*. Of which he gave *Plancus* immediate notice, and ſignified, that he was coming forward with all expedition to join with him.

Ep. Fam. xi. 19.

Ep. Fam. xi. 9.

Ep. Fam. xi. 11.

wards *Mutina*; or by the Senate, ſoon after *Panſa*'s death; in teſtimony of the ſtrict union that ſubſiſted between him and *D. Brutus Albinus*. For, on the one ſide, there is the head of a *Silenus*, as it is called, or rather of *Pan*, which is frequent on *Panſa*'s coins, with the inſcription alſo of his name, C. PANSA: And, on the other, ALBINUS. BRUTI. F. *with two right hands joined, holding a caduceus*, as an emblem of the ſtricteſt amity and concord. See *Fam. Vibia.* in *Vaillant.* or *Morel.*

Plancus,

Plancus[1], as may be ſeen in his correſpondence with *Cicero* above, had begun a negociation with *Le-*

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ.

[1] PLANCUS to CICERO.

Continuation of the correſpondence between *Plancus* and *Cicero.* Ep. Fam. x. 15. Melm. xiv. 9.

"SOME occurrences have ariſen ſince I cloſed my former "letter, of which I think it may import the Republic that "you ſhould be appriſed: As both the Commonwealth and "myſelf, I hope, have reaped advantage from my aſſiduity "in the affair I am going to mention. I ſollicited *Lepidus,* "by repeated expreſſes, *to lay aſide all animoſities between us,* "and amicably unite with me in concerting meaſures for the "ſuccour of the Republic; conjuring him to prefer the inter- "eſt of his family and his country to that of a contemptible "and deſperate rebel; and aſſuring him, that, if he did ſo, "he might entirely command me upon all occaſions. Ac- "cordingly, by the intervention of LATERENSIS, *I have* "*ſucceeded in my negociation, and* LEPIDUS *has given me his* "*honour, that, if he cannot prevent* ANTONY *from entering* "*his province, he will moſt certainly lead his army againſt* "*him.* He requeſts, likewiſe, *that I ſhould join him with my* "*forces*; and the raher, as *Antony* is extremely ſtrong in ca- "valry, whereas that of *Lepidus* is very inconſiderable: And, "out of theſe few, ten of his beſt men have lately deſerted to "my camp. As ſoon as I received this expreſs, I loſt no "time to forward and aſſiſt the good intentions of *Lepidus.* "I clearly ſaw, indeed, the advantage that would ariſe from "my joining him: As my horſe would be of ſervice in pur- "ſuing and deſtroying *Antony*'s cavalry, and as the preſence "of my troops in general would be a reſtraint upon the diſ- "affected part of thoſe under his command. To this end, "having ſpent a day in throwing a bridge acroſs the *Iſara* "[*Iſere*], a very conſiderable river that bounds the territories "of the *Allobroges,* I paſſed it, with my whole army, on the "12*th* of *May.* But, having received advice that *L. Anto-* "*nius*" [*Antony*'s brother] "was advancing towards us with "a body of horſe and foot, and that he was actually arrived "at *Forum Julii* [*Frejus*]; I ordered, on the 14*th,* a de- "tachment of four thouſand horſe to meet him under the com-

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf.

Lepidus, to unite their forces againſt *Antony*: It was managed on *Plancus*'s ſide by *Furnius*; on

" mand of my brother: Whom I purpoſe to follow, by long " marches, with four light-armed legions, and the remainder " of my cavalry. And, ſhould that fortune, which preſides o- " ver the Republic, prove in any degree favourable to my " arms, I ſhall ſoon put an end at once both to our own " fears, and to the hopes of theſe inſolent rebels. But if the " infamous *Antony*, appriſed of our approach, ſhould retire " towards *Italy*; it will be the buſineſs of *Brutus* to intercept " his march: And *Brutus*, I am perſuaded, will not be " wanting either in courage and conduct for that purpoſe. " Nevertheleſs, I ſhall in that caſe, ſend my brother with a " detachment of horſe to harreſs *Antony* in his retreat, and " to protect *Italy* from his depredations."

PLANCUS to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. x. 17. Melm. xiv. 12.

" *ANTONY* arrived at *Forum Julii* [*Frejus*] with the van " of his army on *the 15th of May*: And *Ventidius* is only " two days march behind him. *Lepidus* writes me word, " that he propoſes to wait for me at *Forum Voconii* [*Le Luc*] " where he is at preſent encamped; a place about four-and- " twenty miles diſtant from *Forum Julii*: If he and fortune " do not deceive my expectations, the Senate may depend " upon my ſpeedily terminating this buſineſs to their full ſa- " tisfaction.—I mentioned to you, in a former letter, that the " great fatigues which my brother had undergone by his con- " tinual marches had extremely impaired his conſtitution. " However, as ſoon as he was ſufficiently recovered to get " abroad, he conſidered his health as an acquiſition which he " had gained as much for the ſervice of the Republic, as for " himſelf; and was the firſt, therefore, to engage in every " hazardous expedition. But I have recommended it to him, " and indeed inſiſted that he ſhould return to *Rome*, as he " would be much more likely to wear himſelf away by con- " tinuing in the camp, than be able to give me any aſſiſt- " ance. Beſides, I imagined, now that the Republic was moſt

on *Lepidus*'s by *Laterenſis*, one of his Lieutenants, a true friend to the Senate and zealous to engage Y.R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" unhappily deprived of both the Conſuls, that the preſence " of ſo worthy a magiſtrate would be abſolutely neceſſary at " *Rome*. But, if any of you ſhould think otherwiſe, let me " be cenſured for my imprudent advice, but let not my bro- " ther be condemned as failing in his duty. — *Lepidus*, a- " greeably to my requeſt, has delivered *Apella* into my hands, " as an hoſtage for the faithful execution of his engagements " to co-operate with me in the defence of the Commonwealth. " *L. Gellius* has given me proofs of his zeal: As he has acted " alſo in the affair of the three brothers to the ſatisfaction of " *Sextus Gavianus*. I have lately employed the latter in ſome " negociations between *Lepidus* and myſelf: And I have " found him firmly attached to the intereſt of the Republic. " It is with great pleaſure I give this teſtimony in his fa- " vour: A tribute which I ſhall always be ready to pay, " wherever it is deſerved.—Take care of your health, and " allow me the ſame ſhare of your heart, which you moſt " aſſuredly poſſeſs of mine. I recommend my dignities like- " wiſe to your protection; and hope, if I can plead any " merit, you will continue your good offices to me with the " ſame ſingular affection you have hitherto diſcovered."

CICERO to PLANCUS.

"NOTHING, my dear *Plancus*, could be more glori- " ous to yourſelf, nor more acceptable to the Senate, than " the letter you lately addreſſed to that aſſembly: I will add " too, nothing could be more opportune than the particular " juncture in which it was delivered. *Cornutus* received it in " the preſence of a very full houſe, juſt as he had commu- " nicated to us a cold and irreſolute letter from *Lepidus*. Yours " was read immediately afterwards: And it was heard with " the loudeſt acclamations of applauſe. It was highly plea- " ſing, indeed, to the Senate, not only from the importance " of its contents, and thoſe zealous ſervices to the Republic, " of which it gave us an account, but from that ſtrength and " ele- Ep. Fam. x. 16. Melm. xiv. 15.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

engage his General to its intereſts; and *Lepidus* himſelf diſſembled ſo well, as to perſuade them

" elegance of expreſſion with which it was animated. The " Senate was extremely urgent that it might be immedi- " ately taken into conſideration: But *Cornutus* thought pro- " per to decline their requeſt. However, the whole aſſembly, " expreſſing great indignation at his refuſal, the queſtion was " put by five of the Tribunes of the people. When *Servilius* " was called upon for his opinion, he moved that the debate " might be adjourned. What my ſentiments were (and I was " ſupported in them by the unanimous concurrence of the " whole houſe) you will ſee by the decree that paſſed upon " this occaſion." [Both *Plancus*'s letter to the Senate, and the decree upon it, are loſt.]

" I am ſenſible that your ſuperior judgment is abundantly " ſufficient to direct you in all emergencies; *yet I cannot for-* " *bear adviſing you not to wait for the ſanction of the Senate,* " *in ſo critical a conjuncture as the preſent,* and which un- " doubtedly muſt often demand immediate action. *Be a Se-* " *nate, my friend, to yourſelf; and, without any other authority,* " *ſcruple not to purſue ſuch meaſures as the intereſt of the Republic* " *ſhall require.* In one word, let your actions anticipate our " expectations, and give us the pleaſure of hearing that you " have executed ſome glorious exploit, ere we are ſo much " as appriſed that you even had it in your intention. *I will* " *venture to aſſure you,* that the Senate will moſt certainly ap- " prove both of your zeal and your judgment, in whatever " you ſhall thus undertake." [It appears that *Cicero*, not- withſtanding his great influence, could not procure any parti- cular commiſſion for *Plancus*.]

PLANCUS to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. x. 18. Melm. xiv. 20.

" YOU have been appriſed, no doubt, by *Lævus* and *Ner-* " *va*, as well as by the letter they delivered to you on my " part, of the deſign I was meditating when they left me: As, " indeed, they have conſtantly borne a ſhare in all my councils " and meaſures of every kind. It has happened, however,

" to

them of his ſincerity; ſo that *Plancus* was marching forward in great haſte to join with him. But *Le-*

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" to me, what happens not unfrequently, I ſuppoſe, to every " man who is tender of his reputation, and deſirous of ap- " proving his conduct to the friends of his country: I have " given up a ſafer ſcheme, as being liable, perhaps, to ſome " ill-natured exceptions, in exchange for a more dangerous " one that may better evince my zeal. I am to inform you " then, that, after the departure of my Lieutenants, I re- " ceived two letters from *Lepidus*, intreating me to join him. " Theſe were ſeconded by the much ſtronger ſollicitations of " *Laterenſis*: Who earneſtly repreſented to me (what, in- " deed, I am alſo apprehenſive of myſelf) that there is great " reaſon to fear a mutiny among the diſaffected troops un- " der the conduct of *Lepidus*. I determined immediately, " therefore, to march to his aſſiſtance, and take an equal ſhare " in the dangers with which he was threatened. I was ſen- " ſible, at the ſame time, that to wait on the banks of the " *Iſara* till *Brutus* ſhould paſs that river with his army, and " to meet the enemy in conjunction with my collegue, whoſe " forces, as well as their General, would act in perfect har- " mony with me and my troops, would be much the moſt " cautious meaſure with reſpect to my own perſonal ſecuri- " ty. But I reflected, that, if any misfortune ſhould attend " *Lepidus*, it would be wholly imputed to me; and I ſhould " be condemned, either as obſtinately ſuffering my reſentment " to prevent me from giving ſuccour to my enemy in the cauſe " of the Republic; or of timidly avoiding to take part in the " danger of a moſt juſt and neceſſary war; as my preſence there- " fore might be a means of protecting *Lepidus*, and of bring- " ing his army into a better diſpoſition, I reſolved to expoſe " myſelf to all hazards, rather than appear to act with too " much circumſpection. But never was any man more anxi- " ous in an affair for which he was in no ſort anſwerable, " than I am in the preſent: For, though I ſhould have no " manner of doubt if the army of *Lepidus* were not concern- " ed, yet, under that circumſtance, I am full of apprehen- " ſions for the event. Had it been my fortune to have met

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Lepidus was acting all the while a treacherous part, being determined to ſupport *Antony*; and, though

" *Antony* before my junction with *Lepidus*, I am ſure he would " not have been able to have kept the field againſt me even a " ſingle hour. Such is the confidence I have in my own troops, " and ſo heartily do I deſpiſe his broken forces, as well as " thoſe of that paultry muleteer, the contemptible *Ventidius*. " But, as the caſe is now circumſtanced, I dread to think what " might be the conſequence ſhould any ill humours lie con- " cealed in the army of *Lepidus*: As they may poſſibly break " out in all their malignity, before they can be remedied, or " even diſcovered. It is certain, however, that *Lepidus*, to- " gether with the well-affected part of his army, would be " expoſed to great danger, if we ſhould not act in conjuncti- " on: Beſides, that our infamous enemies would gain a ve- " ry conſiderable advantage, ſhould they draw off any of his " forces. If my preſence, therefore, ſhould prove a means of " preventing theſe evils, I ſhall think myſelf much indebted " to my courage and good fortune, for engaging me to make " the experiment. With this deſign I moved with my army " from the banks of the *Iſara* on the 21*ſt of May*; having firſt " erected a fort at each end of the bridge, which I had " thrown over that river, and placed a ſtrong party to defend " it; that, when *Brutus* ſhall arrive, he may have nothing to " retard his paſſage. I have only to add, that I hope to join " *Lepidus* within eight days from the date of this letter."

PLANCUS to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. x. 21. Melm. xiv. 21.

"I SHOULD be aſhamed that this letter is ſo little " conſiſtent with my former, if it aroſe from any inſtability of " my own. But it is much otherwiſe, and I have ſteadily pur- " ſued every means in my power to engage *Lepidus* to act in " concert with me for the defence of the Republic; as ima- " gining it would render you leſs apprehenſive of my ſucceſs " againſt our wretched enemies. To this end, I not only " complied with all the conditions he propoſed, but even en- " gaged for more than he demanded: And I had ſo much

" con-

though he kept him at a diſtance for ſome time, and ſeemed to be conſtrained at laſt, by his own ſol- Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" confidence in the ſincerity of his intentions, that I ven-
" tured to aſſure you, no longer than two days ago, that he
" would zealouſly co-operate with me in carrying on the war
" upon one common plan. I depended indeed upon the pro-
" miſes he had given me under his own hand, together with
" the aſſurances I had likewiſe received from *Laterenſis*, who
" was at that time in my camp, and who earneſtly conjured
" me to forget all reſentments againſt *Lepidus*, and to rely up-
" on his good faith. But *Lepidus* has now put it out of my
" power to entertain theſe favourable hopes of him any lon-
" ger: However, I have taken, and ſhall continue to take,
" all neceſſary precautions that the Republic may not be
" prejudiced by *my too eaſy credulity*. I am to inform you
" then, that, after I had uſed the utmoſt expedition, agree-
" ably to his own earneſt requeſt, to tranſport my army over
" the *Iſara*, and, for that purpoſe had, in the ſpace of a
" ſingle day, thrown a bridge over that river; I received
" a counter-expreſs from him, requiring me to advance no
" farther; as he ſhould have no occaſion, he ſaid, for my
" aſſiſtance. Nevertheleſs, I will own to you, I was ſo im-
" prudent as to proceed in my march; believing that the
" true reaſon of his thus changing his mind aroſe from an
" unwillingneſs to have a partner with him in his glory. I
" imagined that, without depriving him of any ſhare of that
" honour, which he ſeemed ſo deſirous to monopoliſe, I might
" poſt myſelf at ſome convenient diſtance, in order to be
" ready to ſupport him with my troops, in caſe he ſhould
" be preſſed by the enemy: An event, which, in the ſim-
" plicity of my heart, I thought not improbable. In the
" mean time, I received a letter from the excellent *Late-*
" *renſis*, which was conceived in terms full of deſpair. He
" complained that he had been greatly deceived, and aſſured
" me that neither *Lepidus*, nor his army, were to be truſted.
" He expreſly cautioned me, at the ſame time, to be up-
" on my guard againſt their artifices; adding, that he had
" faithfully diſcharged the engagements he had entered in-

" to

V. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

ſoldiers, to receive him, yet that was only to ſave appearances, till he could do it with advan-

" to on his part, and hoped I would act with the ſame fide-
" lity to the Republic on mine. I have ſent a copy of this
" letter to *Titius*, and purpoſe to tranſmit the originals of
" all the reſt, relating to this affair, by the hands of *Lævus*
" *Ciſpius*, who was privy to the whole tranſaction. I ſhall
" inſert in this packet the letters of *Lepidus*, to which I did
" not give any credit, as well as thoſe to which I did.—I
" muſt not forget to add, that, *when* LEPIDUS *harangued*
" *his ſoldiers, theſe mighty honeſt fellows were exceedingly cla-*
" *morous for peace. They proteſted, that, after the loſs of both*
" *the Conſuls; after the loſs the Republic had ſuffered of ſo many*
" *brave men, and after ſo many more, all* ANTONY's *adherents,*
" *had been declared enemies of the Commonwealth, and their*
" *eſtates confiſcated; they were determined not to draw their*
" *ſwords any more either on the one ſide or the other.* They
" were prompted to behave thus mutinouſly, not only by the
" inſolent ſuggeſtions of their own hearts, but by the encou-
" ragement alſo of their officers, particularly *Canidius*, *Ru-*
" *fremus*, and others, whoſe names the Senate ſhall be acquaint-
" ed with at a proper ſeaſon. *Lepidus* was ſo far from puniſh-
" ing this ſedition, that he did not take even a ſingle ſtep to
" reſtrain it. I thought, therefore, that it would be the
" higheſt temerity to expoſe my own faithful troops, toge-
" ther with my auxiliaries, which are commanded by ſome
" of the moſt conſiderable Chiefs of *Gaul*, and in effect
" too my whole province, to their combined armies. I
" conſidered, if I ſhould thus loſe my life, and involve the
" Republic in my own deſtruction, I ſhould fall, not only
" without honour, but without pity. In conſequence of
" theſe reflections, I have determined to march my forces
" back again, that our wretched enemies may not have ſo
" great an advantage as my advancing any farther might
" poſſibly give them. I ſhall endeavour to poſt my army ſo
" advantageouſly as to cover the province under my command
" from being inſulted, even ſuppoſing the troops of *Lepidus*
" ſhould actually revolt. In ſhort, it ſhall be my care to pre-
" ſerve

vantage and ſecurity to them both: His view in treating with *Plancus* was probably to amuſe and Y.R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" ſerve every thing in its preſent ſituation till the Senate ſhall " ſend an army hither, and vindicate the liberties of the Re- " public with the ſame ſucceſs in this part of the world, as " attended their arms before the walls of *Mutina*. In the " mean time, be aſſured, *that no man will act with more fer-* " *vent zeal than myſelf in all the various occurrences of the* " *war: And I ſhall moſt readily either encounter the enemy in the* " *field, or ſuſtain the hardſhips of a ſiege, or even lay down my* " *life itſelf, as any of theſe circumſtances ſhall prove neceſſary* " *for the ſervice of the Senate.* Let me exhort you then, my " dear *Cicero*, to exert your utmoſt endeavours to ſend a ſpee- " dy reinforcement to me, ere *Antony* ſhall have increaſed " the number of his forces, or our own ſhall be intirely " diſpirited. For, if diſpatch be given to this affair, theſe " infamous banditti will undoubtedly be extirpated, and the " Republic remain in full poſſeſſion of her late victory. Take " care of your health, and continue your friendſhip to me.

" *P. S.* I know not whether it may be neceſſary to make " any excuſe for the abſence of my brother, who was pre- " vented from attending me in this expedition by a ſlow fe- " ver, occaſioned by the great fatigues he has lately under- " gone; as no man has ſhewn more zeal or courage in the " cauſe of the Republic, he will undoubtedly return to the " duties of his poſt, the very firſt moment his health ſhall " permit.—I recommend my honours to your protection: " Though I muſt confeſs, at the ſame time, that all my " deſires ought to be ſatisfied, ſince I enjoy the privilege of " your friendſhip, and the ſatisfaction of ſeeing you inveſted " with the high credit and authority I have ever wiſhed you. " I will leave it therefore entirely to yourſelf both when and " in what manner I ſhall experience the effect of your good " offices: And will only requeſt you to ſuffer me to ſucceed " *Hirtius* in your affection, as I certainly do in the reſpect and " eſteem he bore you."

PLAN-

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

and draw him ſo near to them, that, when he and *Antony* were actually joined, they might force

PLANCUS to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. x. 23. Melm. xv. 5.

"I SHALL never regret to undergo the greateſt dangers "in the cauſe of my country, provided, my dear *Cicero*, that "whatever happens to myſelf, *I may not juſtly be accuſed of* "*temerity*. But I ſhould not ſcruple to confeſs, *that I had* "*been guilty of an imprudence, if I had ever acted in reliance* "*upon the ſincerity of* LEPIDUS. Too eaſy a diſpoſition to "give credit to fair pretences cannot ſo properly be called a "fault as an error: But an error into which the nobleſt "minds are generally the moſt liable to fall. *It was not* "*however, from a miſtake of this nature that I had well nigh* "*been deceived; for the character of* LEPIDUS *I perfectly well* "*knew.*" [He here contradicts all he ſays in the beginning of the foregoing letter.] "It was entirely owing to a certain "ſenſibility of what my detractors might ſay: a quality, I "will freely acknowledge, particularly prejudicial in the "affair of war. I was apprehenſive, if I remained in my "camp, that thoſe, who are inclined to miſconſtrue my acti- "ons, might repreſent me as the occaſion of the war being "protracted, by obſtinately indulging my reſentment againſt "*Lepidus*: And, therefore, I advanced almoſt within ſight of "him and *Antony*. I encamped, indeed, at no greater diſ- "tance from them than forty miles, that I might be able, as "circumſtances ſhould require, either ſpeedily to join the ar- "my of *Lepidus*, or ſafely to retreat with my own. In "marking out my camp, I choſe a ſpot of ground that gave "me the advantage of having a large river in my front, which "would take up ſome time in paſſing, and that lay contigu- "ous likewiſe to the country of the *Vocontii*: Who, I was ſure, "would favour my retreat. When *Lepidus* found himſelf *diſ-* "*appointed* of what he ſo much wiſhed, and that there was "*no hopes* of my approaching nearer;" [Had not *Lepidus* ſent him word not to come forward, and was it not againſt advice that *Plancus* advanced ſo near?] "he immediately "threw off the maſk, and, on the 29*th of May*, joined *Anto-*

"*ny.*

force him into the ſame meaſures, without his being able to help it, or retreat from them. When he Y.R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf.

" *ny.* The combined armies moved the ſame day, in order " to inveſt my camp: And they had actually advanced with- " in twenty miles before I received advice of their junction. " However, I ſtruck my tents with ſo much expedition, that, " by the favour of the gods, I had the happineſs to eſcape " them. My retreat was conducted with ſo much good or- " der, that no part of my baggage, nor even a ſingle man, " was either left behind or intercepted by theſe incenſed vil- " lains. On the *4th* of this month I repaſſed the *Iſara*, with " my whole army: After which I broke down the bridge I " had thrown acroſs that river. I took this precaution, that " my troops might have time to refreſh themſelves, as well as " to give my collegue [*D. Brutus*] an opportunity of coming " up to me: Which I imagine he will be able to effect in " three days from the date of this letter.

" I muſt always acknowledge the zeal and fidelity *Lateren-* " *ſis* has ſhewn to the Republic, in his negociations between " *Lepidus* and myſelf: But, it is certain, that his great partia- " lity towards *Lepidus* prevented him from diſcerning the " dangers into which I have been led. However, as ſoon, as " he diſcovered how groſsly he had been impoſed upon, he at- " tempted to turn that ſword againſt his own breaſt, which, " with much more juſtice, had been plunged in the heart of " *Lepidus.* But he was prevented from completing his pur- " poſe: And it is ſaid, (tho' I by no means mention it as a " certainty) that the wound he has given himſelf is not mor- " tal.—My eſcape from theſe traitors has proved an extreme " mortification to them: As they marched to attack me with " the ſame unrelenting fury, which inſtigates them againſt " their country. Some late circumſtances particularly con- " tributed to inflame their reſentment. *I had frequently and* " *warmly urged* LEPIDUS *to extinguiſh this civil war: I had* " *diſapproved of the conferences that were held with the enemy:* " *I had refuſed to ſee the Lieutenants whom* ANTONY *deputed to* " *me under the paſſports of* LEPIDUS: *And had intercepted* " CATIUS VESTINUS, *whom the former had ſent expreſs to the*

" *lat-*

A. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

he was upon the point, therefore, of joining camps with *Antony*, he ſent word to *Plancus*, who was

" *latter.* But it is with pleaſure I reflect, that, the more earneſtly they wiſhed to get me into their hands, the more they ſuffer in the diſappointment.

" Continue, my dear *Cicero*, to employ the ſame vigorous efforts you have hitherto exerted, that we, who are in arms for the defence of the Republic, may have ſuitable honours paid to our ſervices. In the mean time, I wiſh that CÆSAR would join us with thoſe brave troops he commands; or, if his affairs will not permit him; that, at leaſt, they might be ſent under the conduct of ſome other General: For moſt certainly his own perſonal intereſt is at ſtake. The whole force of the diſaffected party is united againſt our country: And ſhall we not put forth our utmoſt ſtrength in its defence? As for what concerns myſelf, I will venture to aſſure you, that, if you at *Rome* are not wanting on your parts, I will abundantly perform every thing that can be expected on mine.——The obligations I am continually receiving from your hands, endear you to me every day more and more; at the ſame time that they animate me to act in ſuch a manner as not to forfeit, in any degree, your eſteem and affection.——I will only add my wiſhes, that I were able in perſon to give you ſuch proofs of my gratitude as might afford you greater reaſon to rejoice in the good offices you have conferred upon me. *Cularo*, [*Grenoble*] on the frontiers of the *Allobroges*, *June the 6th.*" [There is in the collection of *Cicero*'s letters but one more from *Plancus*, dated *the 28th of July*, which ſhall be laid before the reader in its proper place.]

Continuation of the correſpondence between *D. Brutus* and *Cicero*. Ep. Fam. xi. 19. Melm. xiv. 18.

D. BRUTUS to CICERO.

" I WISH you would peruſe the letter I have addreſſed to the Senate, and make what alterations you ſhall judge proper. You will find by it, that I am under an abſolute neceſſity of thus applying to them. Whilſt I imagined I ſhould be joined by the *fourth* and *Martial* legions,

" *agree-*

was within forty miles of him, to ſtay where he was, till he ſhould com up to him: But *Plancus*, Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

N 4 ſuſ-

"*agreeably to the decree of the Senate, which paſſed for that* "*purpoſe, on the motion of* PAULUS," [LEPIDUS's *brother*] *and* DRUSUS, [very probably *Cicero*'s complaiſance for *Octavius* did not permit him to move the houſe on ſo delicate a point] "I was leſs ſollicitous about the reſt: But now that I "have only ſome new-raiſed legions, and thoſe too extremely "ill accoutred, I cannot but be apprehenſive, upon your ac- "counts as well as upon my own." . . . . . *Vercellæ* [*Vercelli*] in the duchy of *Milan*, *May the* 21*ſt*.

D. BRUTUS to CICERO.

"FRIENDSHIP and gratitude make me feel, upon "your account, what I never felt upon my own; and I will "confeſs, that I am not without fear in regard to a ſtory "which has been propagated concerning you. I thought it "by no means a matter to be deſpiſed, when I had only heard "of it, as I frequently did, from common report: But it has "been lately mentioned to me by *Segulius*. This man tells "me, (though what he ſays indeed is generally of a piece "with the reſt of his character) *that, paying a viſit at* CÆ- "SAR's, *where you were much the ſubject of the converſation,* "CÆSAR *complained,* (and it was the only charge, it ſeems "he brought againſt you) *of an ambiguous expreſſion which you* "*made uſe of concerning him.*" [*laudandum adoleſcentem, ornandum, tollendum*: That the young man ſhould be praiſed, ornamented, and *advanced to the dignities of the State*, or *taken off*.] "I ſuſpect the whole to be a mere fiction of *Se-* "*gulius*; or, at leaſt, that it was he himſelf who reported "theſe words to *Cæſar*. *Segulius* endeavoured, at the ſame "time, to perſuade me, *that you are in great danger of falling* "*a victim to the reſentment of the veteran ſoldiers, who ſpeak* "*of you*, he pretends, *with much indignation. The principal* "*cauſe, it ſeems, of their diſpleaſure, is, that both* CÆSAR *and* "*myſelf are left out of the commiſſion for dividing the lands* "*among the ſoldiers, and that every thing is diſpoſed of juſt as* "*you and your friends at* ROME *think proper.*

Ep. Fam. xi. 20. Melm. xiv. 23.

"Not-

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

ſuſpecting nothing, thought it better ſtill to march on; till *Laterenſis*, perceiving how matters

" Notwithſtanding I was on my march, when I received " this account, yet I thought it would not be adviſeable to " paſs the *Alps* till I had informed you how affairs ſtand. I " am well perſuaded, nevertheleſs, that, with reſpect to your- " ſelf, theſe reports and menaces of the veterans aim at no- " thing farther, than by alarming your fears, and incen- " ſing young *Cæſar* againſt you, to obtain for themſelves a " more conſiderable proportion of the rewards decreed by the " Senate. But I do not intend, by ſaying this, to diſſuade " you from ſtanding upon your guard: As nothing, be aſſu- " red, is more valuable to me than your life. Let me only " caution you, *not to ſuffer your fears to run you into greater dan- " gers than thoſe you would avoid.* However, I would adviſe " you to obviate the clamours of theſe veterans as far as you " reaſonably may; and to comply with their deſires both in " regard to the *Decemvirs*, and to the diſtribution of their " rewards. As to thoſe forfeited eſtates which belonged to the " veterans who ſerved under *Antony*, I ſhould be glad, if you " think proper, that *Cæſar* and myſelf be nominated to aſ- " ſign them to the troops. But, in reference to the pecu- " niary donative, which they have been alſo promiſed, it " will be proper to act with more deliberation, and as the ſtate " of the public finances ſhall require: To which end it may be " ſignified to them, that the Senate will take theſe their " claims into conſideration. As to thoſe other four legions, " to whom the Senate has alſo decreed an allotment of lands, " I imagine that the eſtates in *Campania*, together with " thoſe which were formerly ſeized by *Sylla*, will be ſuffi- " cient for the purpoſe. I ſhould think too that the beſt " method of diviſion would be, either to parcel out thoſe " lands, in equal ſhares, to the ſeveral legions, or to deter- " mine their reſpective proportions by lot. But, when I thus " give you my opinion, it is by no means as pretending to " ſuperior judgment, but merely from the affection of my " heart towards you, and from my ſincere deſire that the pub- " lic tranquillity may be preſerved: Which, I am very ſen-

" ſible,

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

ters were going, wrote him word, in all haſte, that neither *Lepidus*, nor his army, were to be truſt-

" ſible, if any accident ſhould happen to you, cannot poſſibly " be maintained. *I do not purpoſe to march out of* Italy, *unleſs* " *I ſhould find it greatly expedient.* Meanwhile, I am em- " ployed in diſciplining my troops, and furniſhing them with " arms: And I hope to appear with no contemptible body of " forces, upon any emergency that ſhall again call me into " the field. But *Cæſar* has not, however, ſent back the le- " gion to me which ſerved in *Panſa*'s army.

" I requeſt your immediate anſwer to this letter: And, if " you ſhould have any thing of importance to communicate " to me, which requires particular ſecrecy, I deſire you " would convey it by one of your own domeſtics." *Eporedia,* [*Ivrea,*] *May the 24th.*

D. Brutus to Cicero.

" ALL things here go on well," [He had probably re- " ceived ſome favourable intelligence concerning *Lepidus*'s be- haviour] " and it ſhall be my endeavour to render them ſtill " better. *Lepidus* ſeems to be favourably diſpoſed towards " me: *And, indeed, we have reaſon to diveſt ourſelves of all* " *our fears, and to act with undaunted freedom in defence of* " *the Commonwealth.* But, had our affairs a far leſs pro- " miſing aſpect, yet it might juſtly animate and augment *that* " *courage, which I know always reſides in your breaſt,* to reflect " that we have three powerful armies," [that of *Octavius,* of *Plancus,* and his own] " devoted to the ſervice of the Re- " public, and that fortune has already declared in our fa- " vour.—The report, which I mentioned in my former letter, " is evidently calculated to intimidate you. But, believe me, " if you exert a proper ſpirit, the whole united party will be " unable to withſtand your eloquence. I purpoſe, agreeably " to what I told you in my laſt, to ſtay in *Italy* till I ſhall hear " from you." *Eporedia,* [*Ivrea,*] *May* the *25th.*

Ep. Fam. xi. 23. Melm. xiv. 24.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ.

truſted; and that he himſelf was deſerted; exhorting *Plancus* to look to himſelf, leſt he ſhould be

D. Brutus to Cicero.

Ep. Fam. xi. 26. Melm. xv. 3.

"IT affords me ſome conſolation in the midſt of my great "concern, [occaſioned by the treachery of *Lepidus*] that the "world is at length convinced my fears were not without "juſt foundation. I have ſent by this expreſs a full account "of the whole affair to the Senate. And now let them deli- "berate, if they pleaſe, *whether they ſhall call home their troops "from Africa and Sardinia; whether they ſhall ſend for M. "Brutus; and whether they ſhall order the payment of my forces.* "But of this you may be very well aſſured, that, unleſs they "act with regard to theſe ſeveral articles in the manner I have "pointed out in my letter, we ſhall all of us be expoſed to the "greateſt danger.——I entreat you to be extremely cautious "whom the Senate ſhall employ to conduct the troops that "are to reinforce me, as it is a truſt which requires great "fidelity and expedition. From my camp, *June the 3d.*"

Theſe are the laſt letters of *D. Brutus* which have been tranſmitted to us; as the following, which are anſwers to them, are the laſt of *Cicero*'s correſpondence with him.

Cicero to D. Brutus.

Ep. Fam. xi. 21. Melm. xv. 4.

"MAY every God confound that moſt infamous of all "human beings, the execrable *Segulius!* For do you imagine "my friend, that he has told this idle tale to none, but to "*Cæſar*, or to you? Be aſſured he has related it to every "mortal that would give him the hearing. I am much "obliged to you however for informing me of this contemp- "tible report: As it is a very ſtrong inſtance, my dear *Bru- "tus*, of the ſhare you allow me in your friendſhip.——As "to what he mentioned *concerning the complaints of the vete- "rans, that you and Cæſar are left out of the commiſſion for di- "viding the lands; I ſincerely wiſh I had likewiſe been excluded "from ſo troubleſome an office.* But it is by no means to be im- "puted to me, that you were not both nominated; on the

be drawn into a ſnare; and to perform his duty to the Republic; for that he had diſcharged his faith, Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

Dio, p. 324.

" contrary, *I moved that all our Generals ſhould be included.* " *But the clamours of thoſe, who always endeavour to obſtruct* " *your honours, carried it againſt me; and you were both excepted* " *in oppoſition to my warmeſt efforts;* unheeded then by me, " let *Segulius* propagate his impotent calumnies; for all that " the man means is nothing more than to repair his broken " fortunes: Not that he can be charged with having diſſi- " pated his patrimony; for patrimony he never had. He " has only ſquandered in luxury what he acquired by infa- " my.—You may be perfectly at eaſe, my dear and excellent " *Brutus*, with regard to thoſe fears, which you ſo generouſly " entertain upon my account, at the ſame time that you feel " none, you tell me, upon your own. Believe me, I ſhall " expoſe myſelf to no dangers which prudence can prevent; " and, as to thoſe againſt which no precaution can avail, I am " little ſollicitous. High indeed would my preſumption be, " were I to deſire to be privileged beyond the common lot " of human nature.—The advice you give me *not to ſuffer my* " *fears to lead me into greater dangers than thoſe they would a-* " *void*, ſupplies me at once with a proof both of your judg- " ment and friendſhip; but the caution is altogether unne- " ceſſary. *The truth of it is, diſtinguiſhed as you are by a for-* " *titude of mind, which renders you incapable of fear upon any oc-* " *caſion; yet there is no man who approaches nearer to you in that* " *quality than myſelf.* Nevertheleſs, I ſhall always be upon " my guard, though I ſhall never be afraid. Indeed, if I " ſhould have any reaſon, will it not be wholly owing, my " dear *Brutus*, to yourſelf? For, were I of a diſpoſition apt " to take alarm, yet I ſhould be perfectly compoſed, in the " confidence of that protection I ſhall receive from your ap- " proaching conſulate; eſpecially as the world is no leſs ſen- " ſible than I am of the ſingular ſhare I enjoy of your affecti- " on.—I agree entirely with your opinion *concerning the four* " *legions*; as alſo *that both you and* Cæſar *ſhould have the diſtri-* " *bution of thoſe eſtates you mention.* This is an office on which " ſome of my colleagues had caſt a very wiſhful eye; *however,*

I have

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf.

faith, by giving him this warning. *Laterenſis*, after ſending this intelligence, laid violent hands upon

" *I have diſappointed their longing, by reſerving it wholly for* " *you and* Cæſar. In the mean time, if any occurrence ſhould " ariſe that requires particular ſecrecy, I ſhall obſerve your " directions, and communicate it to you by one of my own " domeſtics." *June the 4th.*

CICERO to D. BRUTUS.

Ep. Fam. xi. 24. Melm. xv. 6.

" TO tell you the truth, I was once inclined to be ſome- " what angry at the ſhortneſs of your letters: But I am now " ſo well reconciled to your conciſe manner, that I condemn " my own as downright loquacity, and ſhall make your e- " piſtles the models of mine. How ſhort, yet how expreſſive " are you when you tell me, *that all things go well with you,* " *and that you ſhall endeavour to render them ſtill better*; *that* " Lepidus *ſeems favourably diſpoſed*; *and that we have every* " *thing to expect from our three armies.* Were I ever ſo full of " fears, theſe ſignificant ſentences would baniſh them all." [Indeed theſe general expreſſions were very unſatisfactory, and this polite letter is full of reproach] " But I exert the ſpi- " rit you recommend; and indeed, if at the time when you " were cloſely b ocked up in *Mutina*, my hopes nevertheleſs " were fixed entirely upon you; how much higher think you " muſt they be raiſed now?——I ſhould be glad, my dear " *Brutus*, to reſign to you my poſt of *obſervation*, if I might " do ſo without incurring the cenſure of deſerting it. As to " what you mentioned of continuing in *Italy* till you ſhould " hear from me, I do not diſapprove of it, if the motions of " the enemy ſhould not call you elſewhere; *as there are many* " *points upon the carpet at Rome, which may render it prudent for* " *you not to remove to a farther diſtance.* But at all events, if " your preſence here may prove a means of terminating the " war, it is undoubtedly the firſt and principal ſcheme you " ſhould have in view.—The Senate has decreed the firſt mo- " ney that could be raiſed for the payment of your troops. " . . . . . *Servius* is extremely your friend; and you may al- " ways depend upon me." *June the 8th.*

CICERO

upon himſelf, and, though he was interrupted in the act, yet died ſoon after of his wounds. *Lepe-* Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

CICERO to D. BRUTUS.

"THOUGH I always receive your letters with the "higheſt ſatisfaction, yet I am much better pleaſed that you "employed your collegue *Plancus* to make an excuſe to "me, than if you had interrupted your very important occu- "pations by writing yourſelf. He has executed your com- "miſſion very fully; and nothing can render your character "more truly amiable to me, than the account he gives of "your zeal and diligence.—*The junction of your forces with "thoſe of* Plancus, *and the harmony with which you act toge- "ther, as appears by your common letter to the Senate, was agree- "able both to that aſſembly and to the people in general.* What "remains then, my dear *Brutus*, but to conjure you to perſe- "vere in the ſame unanimity, and to endeavour, I will not "ſay to excel others, but (what is far worthier of your ambi- "tion) to riſe above yourſelf. I need add no more; eſpe- "cially as I am writing to one, whoſe *epiſtolary conciſeneſs* I "purpoſe to imitate.—I wait with impatience for your next "diſpatches, as I imagine they will bring us ſuch accounts "as are agreeable to our wiſhes." Ep. Fam. x. 15. Melm. xv. 10.

This letter is without a date, but appears to have been written about the beginning of *June.*

CICERO to D. BRUTUS.

"I WAS expecting every day to hear from you, when "our friend *Lupus* gave me notice that he was juſt ſetting "out to you, if I had any thing to write. But though I "have nothing worth communicating, more than what you "are furniſhed with by the public journals; and that you "are no friend, I am told, to letters of mere empty form; "yet I cannot forbear following your example, and ſend- "ing you two or three ſhort words. Be aſſured then, that "all our hopes reſt upon you and your collegue. As to *M.* "*Brutus*, I am not able to give you any certain account of "him: Ep. Fam. xi. 25. Melm. xv. 15.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

Lepidus and *Antony* joined camps on the 29*th of May*, and the ſame day marched forwards towards *Plancus*, who was come within twenty miles of *Lepidus*'s camp; but, upon the firſt information from *Laterenſis* of what was tranſacting, he retreated in all haſte, repaſſed the *Iſara*, and broke down his bridge upon it, that he might have leiſure to draw all his forces together, and join them with thoſe of his collegue, *D. Brutus*, whom he expected in three days. *Lepidus*, the day after his union with *Antony*, wrote the following letter to the Senate:

" him: I can only ſay, *that, in purſuance of your advice, I en-*
" *deavour to perſuade him, in all my letters, to come over into* Ita-
" ly, *and to take a part in this general war. I much wiſh he*
" *were now here: As his preſence would render me leſs apprehen-*
" *ſive of the conſequences of theſe inteſtine commotions*, which pre-
" vail in *Rome*; and which are by no means, indeed, incon-
" ſiderable." [The diſturbances here alluded to were not only thoſe occaſioned by *Antony* and *Lepidus*'s numerous friends, but alſo thoſe occaſioned by *Octavius*'s meaſures to obtain the conſulate.] " But I forget that I promiſed to imi-
" tate your Laconic brevity, and am running into a ſecond
" page. Farewell then, and may ſucceſs attend your arms."
June the 18*th*. [This letter cloſes the correſpondence between *D. Brutus* and *Cicero*. After the month of *June*, the communication between *Cicero* and the Commanders in *Gaul* was very difficult, and *Cicero* became more cautious, after *Octavius* had manifeſted his ambitious views.

We have, in the Collection of *Cicero*'s Familiar Letters, ſeveral, which paſſed between him and *Cornificius*, Governor of *Africa*; but as they contain little more than recommendations of particular perſons, and are not very inſtructive in the hiſtory of the times, we ſhall only refer to them for the few facts they contain, as occaſion offers.

LEPI-

LEPIDUS, Emperor and High-Prieſt, to the SENATE and PEOPLE of ROME.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

Ep. Fam. x. 35. Melm. xiv. 28.

"HEAVEN and Earth will bear me witneſs, Conſcript Fathers, that there is nothing "I have at all times more ſincerely deſired, than "the preſervation of our common liberties: "And I ſhould ſoon have convinced you of "this truth, if fortune had not forced me to renounce thoſe meaſures I purpoſed to purſue. "My whole army, indeed, expreſſed their uſual "tenderneſs towards their fellow-countrymen, "by a mutinous oppoſition to my deſigns: And, "to own the truth, they abſolutely compelled me "not to refuſe my protection to ſuch a multitude of *Roman* citizens. *I conjure you then, "Conſcript Fathers, to judge of this affair, not by "the ſuggeſtions of private reſentment, but by the intereſt of the Commonwealth:* Nor let it be imputed as a crime to me and my army, *that, amidſt our civil diſſenſions,* we yielded to the "dictates of compaſſion and humanity. Be aſſured, that, by acting with an equal regard to "the ſafety and honour of all parties, *you will "beſt conſult both your own and your country's advantage.* From my camp at *Pons Argenteus* "[upon the *Argents,*] *May the 30th.*"

D. Brutus, on the other hand, joined his army with *Plancus*, who acted with him, for ſome time, with great concord, and the affection of the whole province on their ſide; which being ſignified in their common letters to *Rome*, the Senate

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

nate ſo far depended upon their fidelity, that, after ſeveral debates, they took the deſperate reſolution of voting *Lepidus* an enemy, on the *30th of June*, and demoliſhed the gilt ſtatue, which they had lately erected to him; reſerving ſtill a liberty, to him and his adherents, of returning to their duty by the *1ſt of September*. *Cicero* was the great promoter of this impolitic and cruel decree. He was not, however, eaſy in his mind; and his anxiety is very apparent in the following letter to *C. Caſſius* written juſt after the decree, and which is the laſt of their correſpondence. "Your "relation and my friend, the *worthy* LEPIDUS, to- "gether with all his adherents, were, by an unani- "mous decree of the Senate, which paſſed on the "*30th of June*, declared public enemies to their "country: But at the ſame time a full pardon "was offered to ſuch as ſhall return to their alle- "giance before the *1ſt of Sepember*. The Senate "acts with great ſpirit:" [He might have ſaid fury:] "But it is the expectation of being ſup- "ported by your army, that chiefly animates "them in their vigorous meaſures. *I fear, in- "deed, we ſhall have occaſion for all your aſſiſtance, "as the war is now become extremely formidable by "the villainy of Lepidus.*

Ep. Fam. xii. 10. Melm. xv. 16.

"The accounts that daily arrive, concerning "*Dolabella*, are altogether agreeable to our wiſh- "es: But, at preſent, they are nothing more than "mere rumours. However, your letter addreſſed "to the Senate, dated from the camp on the *9th "of May*, has raiſed a general perſuaſion in *Rome*, "that he is actually defeated. Accordingly, it

"is

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" is imagined, that you are now upon your march " into *Italy*, with a view, on the one hand, of " ſuccouring us with your troops, if any of thoſe " accidents, ſo common in war, ſhould have ren- " dered our arms unſucceſsful; or, on the other " hand, of aſſiſting us with your counſels and " authority, in caſe we ſhould have proved victo- " rious. You may be aſſured, in the mean while, " that no endeavours of mine ſhall be wanting " to procure the forces under your command all " poſſible honours. However, I muſt wait a " proper ſeaſon for this purpoſe, when it ſhall " be known how far they have availed, or are " likely to avail, the Republic. At preſent we " have only heard of their endeavours in the " cauſe of liberty: And glorious, it muſt be ac- " knowledged, their endeavours have been. But " ſtill ſome poſitive ſervices are expected; And " theſe expectations, I dare be confident, either " already are, or ſoon will be, perfectly anſwer- " ed. No man, indeed, poſſeſſes more patriot " or heroic ſpirit than yourſelf; and it is for this " reaſon that we wiſh to ſee you in *Italy*, as ſoon as " poſſible. The truth is, if you and *Brutus* were " here, we ſhould look upon the Republic as re- " ſtored.

" If *Lepidus* had not received *Antony*, weak " and defenceleſs as he was, when he fled after " the battle of *Mutina*, we ſhould have obtained " a complete victory. This infamous ſtep, there- " fore, has rendered him far more odious in " *Rome*, than even *Antony* himſelf ever was. For " *Antony* raiſed a war at a time when the Repub-

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" lic was in the utmoſt ferment: Whereas *Lepi-*
" *dus* has kindled the flames in the midſt of
" peace and victory. We have the Conſuls elect
" to lead our armies againſt him: But, though we
" greatly depend upon their courage and con-
" duct, ſtill, however, the uncertain event of
" war leaves us much to fear. Be aſſured, there-
" fore, *that our principal reliance is upon you and*
" BRUTUS, *whom we hope ſoon to ſee in* Italy;
" *and* BRUTUS, *indeed, we expect every day.*
" Should we have defeated our enemies, as I hope
" we ſhall, before your arrival, the authority, ne-
" vertheleſs, of two ſuch illuſtrious citizens, will
" be of infinite ſervice in raiſing up the Repub-
" lic, and fixing it upon ſome tolerable baſis.
" All our buſineſs, indeed, will by no means be
" over, notwithſtanding we ſhould be delivered
" from the infamous deſigns of our enemies: *As*
" *there are many other diſorders of a different kind,*
" *which it will be ſtill neceſſary to redreſs.*" [He glances at the enormous pretenſions of *Octavius* and his veterans.]

Middl. p. 452.

Lepidus's wife was *M. Brutus*'s ſiſter, by whom he had ſons, whoſe fortunes were neceſſarily ruined by the decree, which confiſcated the father's eſtate: For which reaſon, *Servilia*, their grandmother, and *Caſſius*'s wife, their aunt, ſollicited *Cicero* very earneſtly, either *that the decree itſelf might not paſs, or that the children ſhould be excepted out of it:* But *Cicero* did not think he could conſent to oblige them: For, ſince the firſt was thought neceſſary, the ſecond followed of courſe, and he gave *Brutus* a particular account of the caſe

in

in the following letter: "Though I was juſt going to write to you by *Meſſala Corvinus*, yet I would not let our friend *Vetus* come without a letter. The Republic, *Brutus*, is now in the utmoſt danger, and, after we had conquered, we are forced again to fight, by the perfidy and madneſs of *M. Lepidus*, on which occaſion, when, for the care, with which I have charged myſelf, of the Republic, I had many things to make me uneaſy, yet nothing vexed me more, than *that I could not yield to the prayers of your mother and ſiſter*; for I imagined that I ſhould eaſily ſatisfy you, on which I lay the greateſt ſtreſs. For *Lepidus*'s caſe could not, by any means, be diſtinguiſhed from *Antony*'s; nay, in all people's judgment, was even worſe; ſince, after he had received the higheſt honours from the Senate, and, but a few days before, had ſent an excellent letter to them; on a ſudden, he not only received the broken remains of our enemies, but now wages a moſt cruel war againſt us by land and ſea; the event of which is wholly uncertain. When we are deſired, therefore, to extend mercy to his children, not a word is ſaid, why, if their father ſhould conquer, (which the gods forbid) we are not to expect the laſt puniſhment from him. I am not ignorant how hard it is that children ſhould ſuffer for the crimes of their parents: But it was wiſely contrived by the laws, that the love of their children ſhould make parents more affectionate to their country. Wherefore, it is *Lepidus* who is cruel to his children, not

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

Ep. ad Brut. Middl. Ed. xvii. p. 116.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf.

" he who adjudges *Lepidus* an enemy: For if, " laying down his arms, he were to be condemn- " ed only of violence, in which no defence could " be made for him, his children would ſuffer " the ſame calamity by the confiſcation of his " eſtate. Yet what your mother and ſiſter are " now ſolliciting againſt, in favour of the chil- " dren, the very ſame and much worſe *Lepidus*, " *Antony*, and our other enemies, are at this ve- " ry moment threatening to us all. Wherefore " our greateſt hope is in you and your army: " It is of the utmoſt conſequence both to the " Republic in general, and to your honour and " glory in particular, that, as I wrote to you " before, you come as ſoon as poſſible into *Italy*: " For the Republic is in great want, not only of " your forces, but of your counſels. I ſerved " *Vetus* with pleaſure, as you deſired me, for " his ſingular benevolence and duty to you: I " found him extremely zealous and affectionate " both to you and the Republic: I ſhall ſee my " ſon, I hope, very ſoon; for I depend on his " coming with you quickly into *Italy*."

Brutus, who, in general, diſapproved of *Cicero*'s violent and mercileſs proceedings, was particularly ſhocked at the projected decree againſt *Lepidus*, and, being informed by his mother and ſiſter of *Cicero*'s fierceneſs, he ſent him the following letter, which is worded with great energy, to make an impreſſion upon him: " Other peo- " ple's fears oblige me to entertain ſome appre- " henſions, myſelf, on *Lepidus*'s account: If he " ſhould withdraw himſelf from us (which will

Ep. ad Brut. xiii. Middl. Ed. xvii. p. 229.

" prove,

" prove, I hope, a raſh and injurious ſuſpicion Y. R. 719. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Con.
" of him) I beg and beſeech you, *Cicero*, con-
" juring you by our friendſhip and your affecti-
" on to me, to forget that my ſiſter's children are
" *Lepidus*'s ſons, and to conſider me in the place
" of their father. If I obtain this of you, you
" will not ſcruple, I am ſure, to do whatever you
" can for them. Other people live differently
" with their relations: But I can never do e-
" nough for my ſiſter's children to ſatisfy either
" my inclination or my duty. But what is there
" in which honeſt men can oblige me (if in rea-
" lity I have deſerved to be obliged in any thing)
" or in which I can be of ſervice to my mother,
" ſiſter, and the boys; if their uncle *Brutus* has
" not as much weight with you and the Senate,
" to protect, as their father *Lepidus*, to hurt
" them? *I feel ſo much uneaſineſs and indignation,*
" *that I neither can nor ought to write more fully to*
" *you: For, if, in a caſe ſo important and ſo ne-*
" *ceſſary, there could be any occaſion for words to*
" *excite and confirm you, there is no hope that you*
" *will do what I wiſh, and what is proper.* Do not
" expect therefore any long prayers from me:
" Conſider only what I am; and that I ought to
" obtain it; either from *Cicero*, a man the moſt
" intimately united with me; or, without regard
" to our private friendſhip, from a conſular Se-
" nator of ſuch eminence: Pray ſend me word,
" as ſoon as you can, what you reſolve to do.
" *July the 1ſt.*" *Cicero*, perceiving from this Ad Brut. xv.
letter, *what he had no notion of before*, how
great a ſtreſs *Brutus* laid on procuring this favour

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

for his nephews, prevailed with the Senate to ſuſpend the execution of their act, as far as it related to them, till the times were more ſettled [k].

Lepidus and *Antony* were no ſooner joined, than a correſpondence was ſet on foot between them and *Octavius*; who, from the death of the Conſuls, ſhewed but little regard to the authority of *Cicero*, or the Senate; and wanted only an occaſion of breaking with them. He ſaw that he had no ſhare in their affection; that it was all engroſſed by *Brutus* and *Caſſius* and their adherents: That theſe Commanders had raiſed formidable forces, and were maſters of all the eaſtern provinces, which they now held legally in virtue of a decree of the Senate: That *Sextus Pompey* was the authoriſed Admiral of the Republic; that the Senate meant nothing more by the decrees in his

[k] "The great ſollicitude, ſays Dr. *Middleton*, p. 124, in a "note upon this letter, which *Brutus* peeviſhly expreſſes on "the account of his nephews, and *his demand to have the laws* "*ſuſpended in their favour*, at a time of ſuch confuſion, when "the liberty of *Rome* was at ſtake, ſeems *to be much out of cha-* "*racter*; for, if *Lepidus* had returned to his duty, of which "*Brutus* profeſſes ſome hopes, the caſe of the children would "be ſet right of courſe; or, upon the concluſion of the war, "which ſide ſoever got the better, their fortunes would "neceſſarily have been repaired, either by their father or "their uncle." But where was the propriety of making the law in the preſent conjuncture, to declare enemies of the ſtate ſuch powerful men, and half the forces of the Republic, who were ſuing for peace; to plunge the Commonwealth into a moſt dangerous and inexpiable war, in which all their preſent dependence was upon the ſon of the tyrant, and veteran troops, who had already ſhewn their unfavourable inclinations; and who, according to *Dr. Middleton*, were actually treating with *Lepidus* and *Antony*?

5 fa-

favour, than to make uſe of him as a tool to deſtroy *Antony*, and that they would readily concur after that in his own deſtruction: They had been ſo impolitic as to ſlight him, by leaving him out of the number of Commiſſioners named for the diſtribution of rewards to the ſoldiers; and even to put ſome public affronts upon him, pretending to diſpoſe of his ſoldiers without his conſent, and to treat with them without his privacy: His good friend *Cicero*, in the gaiety of his heart, after the defeat of *Antony*, and in anſwer to *Brutus*'s friends, who reproached him with accumulating extraordinary honours upon *Octavius*, had ſpoken of the young man in ambiguous terms, which carried a double meaning, either of *advancing* or *taking him off*; this at leaſt was reported of him, and the report was credited. *Octavius* however waited a while to ſee what became of *Antony*; till, finding him received and ſupported by *Lepidus*, he began to think it his beſt ſcheme to enter into the league with them; and to concur, in what ſeemed to be more peculiarly his own part, the deſign of revenging the death of his uncle. Inſtead therefore, of proſecuting the war any farther, he was perſuaded by his friends to make a demand of the conſulſhip, though he was not above *twenty years old*. Moſt of the ancient writers ſay that *Cicero* was duped upon this occaſion, and drawn in by *Octavius* to favour his pretenſions to the conſulſhip, by the hopes of being made his collegue, and governing him in this office. But whether *Cicero* encouraged and favoured *Octavius* underhand, or no; it appears that neither he nor

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

Plut. in Cic.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ.

any other magiſtrate would undertake to propoſe him. The demand of it, therefore, was made by a deputation of his officers; and, when the Senate received it more coldly than they expected, *Cornelius*, a Centurion, throwng back his robe, and ſhewing them his ſword, boldly declared, *that, if they would not make him Conſul, that ſhould.* But *Octavius* himſelf ſoon put an end to their ſcruples by marching with his legions in a hoſtile manner to the city. The Prætors placed a guard in different parts of it, and ſeized upon the *Janiculum* with the reſt of the troops and two legions, which were lately come by the Senate's order from *Africa.* But *Octavius* met with no oppoſition, the legions on the *Janiculum* went over to him. The reader who is deſirous to form a true notion of the characters of *Brutus* and *Cicero*, and of their politics, cannot but be pleaſed to find here the following intereſting letters:

Suet. in Oct. 26. App. l. iii. p. 582. Dio, l. xlvi. p. 319.

App. ibid. 584. Dio, ibid. 320.

M. Brutus to Cicero.

Ad Brut. Ep. iv. Mid. Edit. Ep. xi. p. 71.

"HOW great a joy it gave me to hear of "the ſucceſs of our *Brutus*, [*Decimus*] and *the* "*Conſuls*," [he does not condeſcend to name *Octavius*] "it is eaſier for you to imagine than "me to expreſs. I am pleaſed, and rejoice on "ſeveral accounts, but particularly on this; that "*Brutus*'s ſally was not only ſalutary to himſelf, "but of the greateſt ſervice towards completing "the victory." [He expreſſes no concern for the death of the Conſuls, whoſe intentions he had always ſuſpected] "As to what you write, *that the*

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" *caſe of the three* Antonys *is one and the ſame, and* " *that it is my part to determine what I ought to* " *judge of it:* I lay down no other rule to myſelf, " but this; that it is the right of the Senate, " and people of *Rome*, to paſs judgment on " thoſe citizens who have been taken fighting a- " gainſt us. But I am to blame, you will ſay, " for giving the title of citizens to thoſe who " bear an hoſtile diſpoſition to the Republic. " Yes, I do it with the greateſt juſtice: For " where the Senate has not yet decreed, nor the " Roman people commanded any thing, there I " neither arrogantly take upon myſelf to pre- " judge, nor to impoſe my will as a law. Nor " have I changed my mind with regard to that " perſon; from whom, when I was under no ne- " ceſſity of killing him, I neither took away any " thing cruelly, nor remitted any thing idly, but " kept him in my power as long as the war con- " tinued [1]. *I take it to be much the more decent* " *part, and what the Republic would more eaſily* " *allow to us, not to perſecute the fortunes of the* " *miſerable, than to heap infinite honours on the pow-* " *erful, which tend to inflame their ambition and ar-* " *rogance.* In reſpect to which *Cicero*, thou beſt " and braveſt of men, and of all moſt juſtly dear " to me, both upon my own and the public ac- " count, you ſeem to truſt too much to your

[1] By *Antony*'s defeat and flight out of *Italy*, *Brutus* ſeems to have thought the war at an end, and was meditating therefore either to diſmiſs his priſoner *Antonius*, or to ſend him to *Rome*, that his caſe might be determined by the Senate. *Middl.* p. 78.

" hopes;

V. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf.

" hopes; and, as ſoon as any one happens to
" have done what is right, immediately to grant
" and give up every thing to him. As if a mind,
" corrupted by extravagant conceſſions, could
" not be drawn to abuſe them to ill purpoſes.
" Such is your humanity, you will not take it ill
" to be admoniſhed; eſpecially where the pub-
" lic ſafety is at ſtake. You will go on how-
" ever to act, as you ſhall judge for the beſt; and
" ſo too will I, whenever you will inſtruct me.
" Now is the time, *Cicero*; now the time for us
" to act ſo, that we may not rejoice in vain for
" *Antony*'s ruin; nor, by our method of extirpa-
" ting the firſt evil, give occaſion to another ſtill
" worſe to ſprout up. Nothing bad can now
" happen to us, either through our inadverten-
" cy or permiſſion, without ſome fault in us all;
" but eſpecially in you; whoſe authority the Se-
" nate and people of *Rome* not only ſuffer, but
" deſire to ſee as great as can poſſibly be allow-
" ed to any ſingle man in a free State: Which it
" is your buſineſs to maintain, by recommend-
" ing not only *honeſt*, but *prudent* meaſures. Nor
" is any other prudence required from you for
" the time to come, but a moderation in confer-
" ring honours. All other virtues are ſo eminent
" in you, that you may be compared with any of
" the ancients. This one part, which flows from
" a grateful and generous mind, requires a more
" cautious and temperate generoſity. For the
" Senate ought to grant nothing to any man,
" that may either be an example, or a ſupport to
" the diſaffected. *I am in pain therefore about the*
" *conſulſhip: Leſt this* Cæſar *of yours ſhould think*
" *him-*

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" *himſelf raiſed higher already by your decrees, than* " *it would be, from his preſent heighth, to be ad-* " *vanced ſtill to a Conſul.*" [This was penned on the 15*th* of *May*, after the firſt account of *Antony*'s defeat.] " For if *Antony* took the enſigns " of royalty, left to him by another, for an oc- " caſion of making himſelf our King; in what " diſpoſition, think you, will he be, who by the " authority, not of the tyrant, whom we have kil- " led, but of the Senate itſelf, imagines himſelf " encouraged to pretend to what power ſo ever " he pleaſes? Wherefore I ſhall then at laſt ap- " plaud your felicity and prudent foreſight, when " I begin to know for certain, that *Cæſar* will be " content with the extraordinary honours which " he has hitherto received. *Will you make me an-* " *ſwerable then*, you will ſay, *for another man's* " *fault? Yes, ſurely, as far as it might have* " *been foreſeen and prevented.* I wiſh that you " could look into the fears which I conceive in " my breaſt about him.—After I had written " this letter, we heard that you were made Con- " ſul. If ever I ſee that day, I ſhall then be- " gin to form to myſelf the true figure of a Re- " public, ſubſiſting again upon its own ſtrength; " Your ſon is in good health, and is ſent before " me into *Macedonia*, with the horſe. *May the* " 15*th*. From my camp."

Cicero appears no more upon the ſtage. He retired probably to one of his country-houſes, where he had time to reflect and meditate upon his unſucceſsful management of the public affairs.

It

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ.

It had from the beginning been ſuch as did not pleaſe *Brutus*: Who thought that he might have proceeded with leſs violence againſt *Antony*, who was not of a cruel nature; and he diſapproved of the fierce decree againſt *Lepidus*. Theſe meaſures threw him entirely upon *Octavius*, whom he ſervilely courted and raiſed to that power, which now effectually put an end to the hopes of reſtoring any form of a Commonwealth. In many inſtances *Brutus* freely intimated to *Cicero* his diſapprobation of his conduct; but, when things were carried beyond redreſs, he was very reſerved upon that head, and ſtudiouſly avoided to take any notice of his acts; which clearly implied, that there was ſomething in them that diſpleaſed him. *Atticus* therefore, as a common friend, was employed to ſound him, and to learn the cauſe of his ſecret diſguſt, which produced this anſwer from *Brutus*, one of the moſt precious pieces which antiquity has tranſmitted to us:

Brutus to Atticus.

Ad Brut. Ep. 17. Middl. Ep. 25. p. 95.

"YOU write me word, *that* Cicero *wonders* "*why I never take any notice of his acts.* Since "you require it then, and extort it from me, "I will tell you what I think of them. That "*Cicero* has done every thing with the beſt in- "tention, I certainly know; for what can I poſſibly be more aſſured of, than of his diſpoſi- "tion towards the Republic? Yet ſome things "he ſeems to have done; what ſhall I ſay? *im-* "*prudently*? Of a man of all others the moſt pru- "dent!

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" dent! or *ambitiously?* Of one, who, FOR THE " SAKE OF THE REPUBLIC, *has not ſcrupled to* " *make the powerful Antony his enemy!* I am at a " loſs what to write, except this one thing, *that* " *the ambition and licentiouſneſs of the boy have been* " *encouraged, rather than repreſſed by* Cicero; *and* " *that he carries his indulgence of him ſo far, as not* " *to abſtain even from opprobrious language, and ſuch* " *as reflects doubly upon himſelf: Since he has taken* " *away the life of more than one,*" [*Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, Ceparius, Catiline*'s accomplices, were put to death in an illegal manner] " *and muſt firſt confeſs himſelf to be an* " *aſſaſſin, before he can reproach Caſca with what* " *he objects to him*; *and treat* Caſca, *as* Beſtia " *once treated him*[m]. Or becauſe we are not boaſt-

[m] " *Manutius* profeſſes himſelf unable to conceive *how* Ci- " cero *ſhould ever call* Caſca *a murderer*; yet cannot collect *any* " *thing leſs* from *Brutus*'s words. But the thing is impoſſi- " ble, and inconſiſtent with every word that *Cicero* had been " ſaying, and every act that he had been doing from the time " of *Cæſar*'s death: And, in relation particularly to *Caſca*, " he had refuſed to enter into any meaſures with *Octavius*, " but upon the expreſs condition of his ſuffering *Caſca* to take " quiet poſſeſſion of the *Tribunate*: It is certain therefore that " *Brutus* had either been *miſinformed*, or was charging *Cicero* " with the *conſequential meaning of ſome ſaying* which was never " intended by him; in adviſing *Caſca*, perhaps, to manage " *Octavius*, in the height of his power, with more temper " and moderation, leſt he ſhould otherwiſe be provoked to " conſider him as *an aſſaſſin*, and treat him as ſuch: For " an intimation of that kind would have been ſufficient to the " fierce ſpirit of *Brutus*, for taking it as a direct condemna- " tion of *Caſca*'s act of ſtabbing *Cæſar*, to which *Cicero* " had always given the higheſt applauſe." *Middl. Life of Ci-*

cero,

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" boaſting every moment of the *ides of March*,
" as he is of *his nones of December*, what better
" pretext can he have for cenſuring our moſt lau-
" dable act, than *Beſtia* and *Clodius* had for in-
" veighing againſt his conſulſhip? Our *Cicero*
" brags that he in his gown has ſuſtained the war
" againſt *Antony*. But of what ſervice is that to
" me, if the ſucceſſion to *Antony*'s place be claim-
" ed as the reward of oppreſſing *Antony*? And if
" the avenger of that evil has been the author
" of another, which is likely to be more firmly
" grounded, and to take a deeper root, if we
" ſuffer it? As if all that he is doing came from
" one, *not afraid of a maſter*; no, *but of having*
" Antony *for that maſter*. But, for my part, I
" cannot think myſelf obliged to a man, who, as
" long as he does not ſerve an angry lord, has no
" quarrel with ſervitude itſelf; nay, decrees tri-
" umphs, and pay, and every kind of honour to
" him. It is a ſhame for any one to deſire ſuch
" a condition of life as he has now taken upon
" himſelf. Is this the part of a Conſular? This,
" of *Cicero*? Since you would not ſuffer me to
" be ſilent, you will read what muſt neceſſarily
" make you uneaſy: For I feel within myſelf
" what an uneaſineſs it gives me to write it.

cero, Vol. II. p. 488. Unluckily, there are too many inſtances of theſe inconſiſtencies both in *Cicero*'s words and deeds. *Octavius*'s circumſtances were changed; he was no longer in the dependence of *Cicero* and his Senate, and began to declare himſelf openly againſt his father's murderers: This was ſufficient to engage *Cicero* to change his ſtile, at leaſt in the preſence of *Octavius* and his adherents.

Nor

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" Nor am I ignorant what your ſentiments are " with regard to the Republic; which, though " deſperate, you think poſſible ſtill to be retriev- " ed. Nor, in truth, *Atticus*, do I blame you. " For your years, your principles, your children, " make you averſe to action: Which I perceived " alſo from the account of our friend *Flavius*[n]. " But to return to *Cicero*. What difference is " there between him and *Salvidienus*" [one of *Octavius*'s moſt zealous followers] " or what " more would *Salvidienus* himſelf decree to *Oc-* " *tavius*[o]. He is afraid ſtill, you will ſay, of the " re-

[n] This is explained by a ſtory related by *Cornelius Nepos*, that a ſcheme having been projected for raiſing a fund of money for the ſupport of *Brutus*, and his forces, by a voluntary contribution of the Roman Knights, *Flavius* propoſed the affair to *Atticus*, as *Brutus*'s particular friend, and one of the richeſt of that order, deſiring that he would undertake the management, and put himſelf at the head of it. But *Atticus* anſwered, that *Brutus was welcome to make what uſe he pleaſed of his fortunes, as far as they would go; but that, for his part, he would not have any conference or meeting with any perſon whatſoever, on any ſuch occaſion.* Middleton's note on this letter, p. 106.

[o] When *Octavius* marched with his army againſt *Antony*, *Cicero*, as we have ſeen above, moved the Senate to decree him the legal command of that army, as *Proprætor*; and that he ſhould carry on the war in conjunction with the two Conſuls; and ſhould have a ſeat in the Senate, with the rank of a *Prætor*. After the firſt battle of *Mutina*, they decreed to him likewiſe, at *Cicero*'s motion, *a thankſgiving of fifty days*, with the title of *Imperator*, in common with the Conſuls; and, after the ſecond battle and the death of the Conſuls, they decreed to him the *leſſer triumph*, or an *ovation*: Indeed, it was not poſſible to do more for him: A triumph over *the late Con-*

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"remains of the civil war. But can any one "be ſo afraid of a routed enemy, as to think nei- "ther the power of one, who is at the head of a "conquering army, nor the raſhneſs of a boy, at "all to be feared? Or does he do all this, be- "cauſe he thinks that every thing ought freely to "be given up to him, on the account of his "great power? Oh the ſtrange folly of fear! *to "be ſo cautious of ſhunning what we are afraid of, "that, inſtead of avoiding it, as we might perhaps "have done, we forwardly invite and draw it upon "ourſelves.* We have too great a dread of death, "and of exile, and of poverty. Theſe *Cicero* "looks upon as the chief ills of life; and as "long as he can find people who will grant him "what he deſires; who will reſpect and applaud "him; he has no objection to ſlavery, provided "it be an honourable one; if any thing can be "honourable, in a ſtate of the moſt wretched "and abject contumely. Let *Octavius* then call "him *father*; refer all things to him, praiſe, "thank him: Yet it will be ſeen at laſt that his "words are contrary to his acts. For what is ſo "oppoſite to the common ſenſe of mankind, as "to hold any one in the place of *father*, who can- "not be ranked in the number even of freemen? "And, yet all that this excellent man is aiming "at, all that he is doing tends only to this, *that "Octavius may be kind to him.* I can no longer "ſet any value on thoſe arts, of which I know

Conſul and *the Roman legions!* after it had been deemed a crime in *Cæſar* to have triumphed over the *revolted Spaniards* headed by the ſons of *Pompey!*

Ci-

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" *Cicero* to be ſo great a maſter: For of what uſe " to him are all the fine things that he has writ- " ten with ſuch eloquence, for the liberty of his " country, or on dignity, death, exile, poverty? " How much better does *Philippus* ſeem to un- " derſtand theſe ſubjects, who was more reſerved " in his conceſſions to a ſon-in-law, than *Cicero* " to a ſtranger? Let him forbear then in his " boaſtings to inſult even our miſeries. For what " is it to us, that *Antony* is vanquiſhed, if his fall " has made room only for another to poſſeſs his " place? Though your letters even ſtill ſpeak " dubiouſly of him. Let *Cicero* then live on, ſince " he can ſubmit to it, ſuppliant and obnoxious; " if he has no regard, either to his years, or his " honours, or the acts of his paſt life. As for me, " I will wage war with the thing itſelf: That is, " with tyranny, with extraordinary commands, " with dominion, and every power that ſeeks to " advance itſelf above the laws: Nor ſhall any " condition of ſervitude, how advantageous ſoe- " ver, divert me from it; though *Antony*, as you " write, be an honeſt man, which was never my " opinion of him. But, as to a Maſter, our an- " ceſtors would never endure one, though it were " even a parent. If I did not love you as much " as *Cicero* perſuades himſelf, that he is beloved " by *Octavius*, I would not have written this to " you. It grieves me to reflect, how much you " are now diſguſted; you who love all your " friends ſo warmly, and, above all, *Cicero*. But, " aſſure yourſelf, that I have abated nothing of " my particular affection, though a great deal of

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" my judgment of him. For it cannot poſſibly " be otherwiſe, but that every man's opinion " of things muſt be agreeable to the light in " which they appear to him."

There is no probability that *Atticus* ſhewed the foregoing letter to *Cicero*; but as *Brutus*, in his letters to *Cicero* himſelf, frequently intimated his diſſatisfaction and diſlike of *Cicero*'s management, *Cicero* took occaſion, in the following letter, to lay open the whole progreſs of it, from the time of *Cæſar*'s death, in order to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and neceſſity of each ſtep: And the ingenious author of *Cicero*'s life thinks that it is a complete apology, and ſhews *that Cicero's conduct was in all reſpects uniform, great, and glorious; never deviating from the grand point which he had in view, the liberty of his country: What ever* BRUTUS, *or any one elſe, may have ſaid.*

CICERO to BRUTUS.

Ad Brut. xv. Middl. Ep. xxi p. 145.

" YOU have *Meſſala* with you. How is it " poſſible therefore for me to explain, by letter, " though ever ſo accurately drawn, the preſent " ſtate of our public tranſactions, more preciſely " than he; who both knows them all more per- " fectly, and can deſcribe and relate them to " you more elegantly than any man? For do not " imagine, *Brutus*, (though there is no occaſion " for me to write what you know already your- " ſelf, but that I cannot paſs over in ſilence " ſuch an excellence of all good qualities) do " not

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" not imagine, I ſay, that, for probity, conſtancy, care, and zeal for the Republic, there " is any one equal to him; ſo that eloquence, in " which he wonderfully excels, ſcarce finds a " place amongſt his other praiſes: Since, even in " that, his wiſdom ſhines the moſt eminent, by " his having formed himſelf, with ſo much judg- " ment and art, to the trueſt manner of ſpeak- " ing. Yet his induſtry all the while is ſo re- " markable; and he ſpends ſo much of his time " in ſtudy, that he ſeems to owe but little to his " parts, which are ſtill the greateſt. But I am " carried too far by my love for him: For it is " not the purpoſe of this epiſtle to praiſe *Meſſala*; " eſpecially to *Brutus*, to whom his virtue is not " leſs known than to myſelf; and theſe very " ſtudies, which I am praiſing, ſtill more known: " Whom, when I could not take leave of without " regret, I comforted myſelf with reflecting, that, " by going away to you, as it were to my ſecond " ſelf, he both diſcharged his duty, and purſued " the ſureſt path to glory. But ſo much for that.

" I come now, after a long interval, to conſider " a certain letter of yours [p], wherein, while you " allow me to have done well in many things, " you find fault with me for one; *that, in confer-* " *ring honours, I have been too free and even prodi-* " *gal.* You charge me with this: Other people, " probably, with *being too ſevere in puniſhing*; or

[p] The letter, here referred to, ſeems to be the 11th, and is cited above in the text: It is dated *May the* 15th, whereas this was written about *the end of July*, after an interval of above two months.

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" you yourſelf, perhaps, with both. If ſo, I de-
" ſire that my judgment on each may be fully
" known to you. Not that I mean to juſtify my-
" ſelf only by *Solon*'s maxim, the wiſeſt of the ſe-
" ven, and the only Legiſlator of them all; who
" uſed to ſay, that *the public weal was compriſed*
" *in two things; rewards and puniſhments*; in
" which, however, as in every thing elſe, there
" is a certain medium and temperament to be ob-
" ſerved. But it is not my deſign, at this time,
" to diſcuſs ſo great a ſubject; yet I think it not
" improper *to lay open the motives of my opinions*
" *and votes in the Senate, from the beginning of*
" *this war.*

" After the death of *Cæſar*, and thoſe your
" memorable *ides of March*, you cannot forget,
" *Brutus*, what I declared to have been omitted
" by you [q]; and what a tempeſt I foreſaw hang-
" ing over the Republic. You had freed us from
" a great plague; wiped off a great ſtain from
" the *Roman* people; acquired to yourſelves di-
" vine glory: Yet all the equipage of kingly
" power was left ſtill to *Lepidus* and *Antony*: The
" one inconſtant, the other vicious; both of them
" afraid of peace, and enemies to the public qui-
" et. While theſe were wiſhing to raiſe freſh diſ-
" turbances in the State, we had no troops about
" us, which we could oppoſe to them: For the

[q] The omiſſion here ſignified, and frequently complained of by *Cicero*, in his letters to *Brutus* and the other Conſpirators was that *of not killing Antony*. The mild *Cicero* would have been glad to have ſeen *Lipidus* killed alſo, and the whole crew of the wicked *Cæſareans*.

" whole

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" whole city was eager and unanimous in aſſerting " its liberty. I was then thought too violent; " whilſt you, perhaps more wiſely, withdrew " yourſelves from that city, which you had deli- " vered; and refuſed the help of all *Italy*, that " offered to arm itſelf in your cauſe[r]. Where- " fore, when I ſaw the city in the hands of *Re-* " *bels*; and oppreſſed by the arms of *Antony*; " and that neither you nor *Caſſius* could be ſafe " in it; I thought it time for me to quit it too. " For a city overpowered by Traitors, without " the means of relieving itſelf, is a wretched " ſpectacle[s]. Yet my mind, always the ſame, and " ever fixed on the love of my country, could not " bear the thought of leaving it in its diſtreſs. In " the midſt, therefore, of my voyage to *Greece*, " and in the very ſeaſon of the *Eteſian* winds, " when an uncommon South wind, as if diſplea- " ſed with my reſolution, had driven me back to " *Italy*, I found you at *Velia*, and was greatly " concerned at it. For you were retreating, *Bru-* " *tus*; were retreating, I ſay; ſince your *Stoics* " will not allow their wiſe man *to fly*. As ſoon " as I came to *Rome*, I expoſed myſelf to the " wickedneſs and rage of *Antony*: Whom, when

[r] If the city had been ſo eager and unanimous in aſſerting its liberty, and all *Italy* was ready to arm itſelf: It is indeed quite inconceivable how the Conſpirators ſhould have been ſo weak as to fly firſt to the *Capitol*, then out of *Rome*, and laſtly out of *Italy*.

[s] After all, theſe Rebels and Traitors were the acknowledged magiſtrates, and formed the legal adminiſtration: And *Cicero* took a commiſſion of Lieutenant from one of the principal Rebels, his dear *Dolabella*.

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"I had exaſperated againſt me, I began to enter
"into meaſures, in the very ſpirit of the *Brutus's*
"(for ſuch are peculiar to your blood) for the
"delivery of the Republic. I ſhall omit the long
"recital of what followed, ſince it relates to my-
"ſelf; and obſerve only, that this young *Cæſar*,
"by whom, if we are willing to confeſs the truth,
"we ſubſiſt at this day, flowed from the ſource
"of my counſels. I decreed him no honours,
"*Brutus*, but what were due; none but what
"were neceſſary. For when we firſt began to re-
"cover any liberty, while the divine virtue of *D.*
"*Brutus* had not yet ſhewn itſelf ſo far that we
"could know its real force; and our whole de-
"fence was in the boy, who had repelled *Antony*
"from our necks; what honour was not really
"due to him? Though I gave him nothing ſtill
"but the praiſe of words; and that even mode-
"rate. I decreed him, indeed, *a legal command*"
[as Proprætor, with the rank of Prætor in the Se-
nate;] "which, though it ſeemed honourable to
"one of his age, was yet neceſſary to one who
"had an army: For what is an army without
"ſuch a command? *Philippus* decreed him a ſta-
"tue; *Servius* the privilege of ſuing for offices
"before the legal time; which time was ſhorten-
"ed afterwards by *Servilius*. Nothing was then
"thought too much. But men are apt, I know
"not how, to be more liberal in fear, than grate-
"ful in ſucceſs. When *D. Brutus* was delivered
"from the ſiege; a day of all others the moſt
"joyous to the city, and which happened alſo to
"be his birth-day; I decreed that his name
ſhould

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" ſhould be aſcribed for ever to that day in the
" public *calendars.* In which I followed the ex-
" ample of our anceſtors, who paid the ſame ho-
" nours to a woman, *Larentia*[t]; at whoſe altar
" you Prieſts perform ſacred rites in the *Vela-*
" *brum.* By giving this to *D. Brutus*, my deſign
" was, to fix in the *calendars* a perpetual memo-
" rial of a moſt acceptable victory. But I per-
" ceived, on that day, that there was more ma-
" levolence than gratitude in many of the Se-
" nate. During theſe ſame days, I poured out
" honours, (ſince you will have it ſo) on the de-
" ceaſed *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, and *Aquila* alſo: And
" who can find fault with it, but thoſe, who,
" when fear is once over, forget their paſt danger?
" But, beſides the grateful remembrance of paſt
" ſervices, there was a view in it that reached to
" poſterity: For I was deſirous that there ſhould
" remain an eternal monument of the public ha-
" tred to our moſt cruel enemies. There is one
" thing, I doubt which does not pleaſe you; for
" it does not pleaſe your people here, who,
" though excellent men, have but little experi-
" ence in public affairs; *that I decreed an ovation*

[t] The old writers give various accounts of the hiſtory of this *Larentia*, and of the origin of the rites, which were annually performed to her. The common tradition is, that ſhe was *Romulus*'s nurſe, and left ſome conſiderable lands at her death to the people of *Rome*; and that *Romulus*, out of piety to her memory, appointed a yearly feſtival and ſacrifice to be celebrated at her ſepulchre. *Aul. Gell.* vi. 7. *Macrob. Sat.* i. 10. The *Velabrum* was a ſtreet or ſquare in old *Rome*, where the *Forum*, *Boarium*, and the *Temple of Janus* ſtood. *Marlian. Rom. topogr.* l. iv. c. 4. *Middl. note on this letter, p.* 161.

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" *to Cæſar:* But, for my part, though I may, per-
" haps, be miſtaken: *Nor am I yet one of thoſe*
" *who are the moſt pleaſed always with what is their*
" *own*;" [This is the character *Cicero* gives of *Brutus* in many of his letters to *Atticus:*] " I
" cannot but think that I have adviſed nothing
" more prudent, during this war. Why it is ſo
" is not proper to be explained, leſt I be thought
" to have been more provident in it than grate-
" ful. But even this is too much. Let us paſs,
" therefore, to other things. I decreed honours
" to *D. Brutus*; decreed them to *Plancus*. They
" muſt be men of great ſouls, who are attracted
" by glory: But the Senate alſo is certainly wiſe,
" in trying every art that is honeſt, by which
" any one can be engaged to the ſervice of the
" Republic. But I am blamed in the caſe of
" *Lepidus*, to whom, after I had raiſed a ſtatue
" in the *Roſtra*, I preſently threw it down again.
" My view was to reclaim him by that honour
" from deſperate meaſures; but the madneſs of
" an inconſtant man got the better of my pru-
" dence: Nor was there yet ſo much harm in e-
" recting, as good in demoliſhing that ſtatue.

" But I have ſaid enough concerning *honours*,
" and muſt ſay a word or two about *puniſhments:*
" For I have often obſerved, from your letters,
" that you are fond of acquiring a reputation
" of clemency, by your treatment of thoſe whom
" you have conquered in war. I can imagine
" nothing to be done by you but what is wiſely
" done: But to omit the puniſhment of wicked-
" neſs, which we call pardoning, though it may

be

" be tolerable in other caſes, I take to be perni- Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.
" cious in this war. For, of all the civil wars
" that have been in my memory, there was not
" one, in which, what ſide ſoever got the better,
" there would not have remained ſome form of
" a Commonwealth: Yet in this, what ſort of
" a Republic we are like to have, if we conquer,
" I would not eaſily affirm; but, if we are con-
" quered, we are ſure to have none. My votes,
" therefore, were ſevere againſt *Antony*; ſevere a-
" gainſt *Lepidus*; not from any ſpirit of revenge;
" but to deter wicked citizens, at the preſent,
" from making war againſt their country; and to
" leave an example to poſterity, that none here-
" after might be diſpoſed to imitate ſuch raſh-
" neſs. Yet this very vote was not more mine,
" than it was every body's: in which, there ſeems,
" I own, to be ſomething cruel, that the puniſh-
" ment ſhould reach to children, who have done
" nothing to deſerve it: But the conſtitution is
" both ancient, and of all cities: *Themiſtocles's*
" children were reduced to want: And, ſince the
" ſame puniſhment falls upon citizens, condemn-
" ed of public crimes, how was it poſſible for us
" to be more gentle towards enemies? But what
" reaſon can that man have to complain of me,
" who, if he had conquered, muſt needs confeſs,
" that he would have treated me even with grea-
" ter ſeverity?

" You have now the grounds of my opinions,
" as far as they relate to the caſe of *rewards* and
" *puniſhments*: For, as to other points, you have
" heard, I ſuppoſe, what my ſentiments and

" votes

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"votes have been. But the mention of theſe is "not ſo neceſſary: What I am going to menti- "on, *Brutus*, is greatly ſo: That you come "with your army to *Italy*, as ſoon as poſſible. "There is the utmoſt expectation of you. "Whenever you ſet foot in *Italy*, all the world "will run to you. For whether it be our lot to "conquer, (as we had already done, if *Lepidus* "had not been deſirous to overturn all, and pe- "riſh himſelf with his friends) there will be a "great want of your authority, in order to ſettle "ſome ſtate of a city amongſt us: Or, if there "be any danger or ſtruggle ſtill behind, our "greateſt hope is in your authority, as well as "in the ſtrength of your army. But haſten to "us, for God's ſake: For you know how much "depends on opportunity; how much on diſ- "patch. What diligence I ſhall uſe in the care "of your ſiſter's children you will be informed, "I hope, by the letters of your mother and ſiſ- "ter: In whoſe cauſe I have more regard to your "will, which is ever moſt dear to me, than, as "ſome think, to my own conſtancy. But it is "my deſire both to be, and to appear, conſtant "in nothing ſo much as in loving you."

Middl. p. 473.

When *Cicero* ſaw the public affairs taking a turn quite contrary to his hopes, and that *Octavius*, eſpecially by his demand of the conſulſhip, as well as by every other ſtep, ſeemed to be entering into meaſures to oppreſs the Republic, and to revenge his uncle's death; he took all imaginable pains to diſſuade him from it,

it, and never ceaſed from exhorting him, by letters, to a reconciliation with *Brutus*, and the obſervance of that *amneſty*, which the Senate had decreed, as the foundation of the public peace. *Atticus*, imagining that *Brutus* would be pleaſed with it, ſent him a copy of what *Cicero* had written upon that ſubject. But, inſtead of pleaſing, it provoked *Brutus* only the more; and he ſignified his mind upon it both to *Cicero* and *Atticus*, in ſuch a ſtyle, ſays Dr. *Middleton*, as confirms what *Cicero* had long before obſerved, and more than once declared to him, that *his letters were generally churliſh, unmannerly, and arrogant; and that he regarded neither what, nor to whom he was writing*. That to *Cicero* has been tranſmitted to us, and is as follows:

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Ad. Att. vi. 1. 3.

Brutus to Cicero.

"I HAVE read a part of your letter, which "you ſent to *Octavius*, tranſmitted to me by *At*- "*ticus*. Your zeal and concern for my ſafety "gave me no new pleaſure: For it is not only "common, but our daily news, to hear ſomething "which you have ſaid or done with your uſual "fidelity, in the ſupport of my honour and dig- "nity. Yet that ſame part of your letter affect- "ed me with the moſt ſenſible grief which my "mind could poſſibly receive. For you compli- "ment him ſo highly for his ſervices to the Re- "public, and in a ſtrain ſo ſuppliant and abject; "that—What ſhall I ſay?—I am aſhamed of "the wretched ſtate to which we are reduced—

Ad Brut. xvi. Middl. Ed. xxii. p. 164.

"yet

V. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" yet it muſt be ſaid,—you recommend my " ſafety to him; to which what death is not " preferable? And plainly ſhew, that our ſervi- " tude is not yet aboliſhed, but our Maſter on- " ly changed. Recollect your words, and deny " them, if you dare, to be the prayers of a ſlave " to his King. *There is one thing*, you ſay, " *which is required and expected from him, that he* " *will allow thoſe citizens to live in ſafety, of whom* " *all honeſt men, and the People of Rome, think* " *well.* But what, if he will not allow it? Shall " we be the leſs ſafe for that? It is better not to " be ſafe, than to be made ſafe by him. For " my part, I can never think all the gods ſo a- " verſe to the ſafety of the *Roman* people, that " *Octavius* muſt be intreated for the life of any " one citizen; I will not ſay for the deliverers of " the world. It is a pleaſure to talk thus magni- " ficently; and it becomes me ſurely to thoſe " who know not either what to fear for any one, " or what to aſk of any one. Can you, *Cicero*, " allow *Octavius* to have this power, and be ſtill " a friend to him? Or, if you have any value for " me, would you wiſh to ſee me at *Rome*, when " I muſt firſt be recommended to the boy, that " he would permit me to be there? What reaſon " have you to thank him, if you think it neceſſa- " ry to beg of him, that he would grant and ſuf- " fer us to live in ſafety? Or is it to be reckon- " ed a kindneſs, that he chuſes to ſee himſelf, " rather than *Antony*, in the condition to have " ſuch petitions addreſſed to him. One may " ſupplicate, indeed, the *ſucceſſor*, but never the " *avenger* of another's tyranny; that thoſe who " have

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" have deſerved well of the Republic may be " ſafe. It was this weakneſs and deſpair, not " more blameable, indeed, in you than in all, " which firſt puſhed on *Cæſar* to the ambition " of reigning; and after his death determined " *Antony* to attempt to ſeize his place; and has " raiſed this boy ſo high, that you judge it ne- " ceſſary to addreſs your prayers to him, for " the preſervation of men of our rank; and that " we can be ſaved only by the mercy of one, " ſcarce yet a man; and by no other means. But, " if we had remembered ourſelves to be *Ro-* " *mans*, theſe moſt infamous men would not be " more daring to graſp at dominion, than we to " repel it: Nor would *Antony* be more encouraged " by *Cæſar*'s reign, than deterred by his fate. " How can you, a Conſular, and the avenger of " ſo many treaſons, (by ſuppreſſing which, you " have but poſtponed our ruin, I fear, for a little " time) reflect on what you have done, and yet " approve theſe things; or bear them ſo tamely, " as to ſeem at leaſt to approve them? For what " particular hatred had you to *Antony?* No other, " but becauſe he aſſumed all this to himſelf; that " our lives ſhould be begged of him; our ſafety " be precarious, from whom he had received his " liberty; and the Republic depend upon his " will and pleaſure. You thought it neceſſary to " take up arms to prevent him from tyranniſing " over us: But was it your intent, that, by pre- " venting him, we might ſue to another, who " would ſuffer himſelf to be advanced into his " place; or that the Republic might be free and

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"miſtreſs of itſelf? As if our quarrel was not, "perhaps, to ſlavery, but to the conditions of "it. But we might have had, not only an eaſy "maſter in *Antony*, if we would have been con- "tent with that fortune, but whatever ſhare with "him we pleaſed of favours and honours. For "what could he deny to thoſe whoſe patience, he "ſaw, was the beſt ſupport of his government? "But nothing was of ſuch value to us, that "we would ſell our faith and liberty for it. "Would not the very boy, whom the name of "*Cæſar* ſeems to incite againſt the deſtroyers of "*Cæſar*, think it worth any price, if there was "room to traffick with him, to be enabled, by "our help, to maintain all that power, which "he now enjoys? Since we have a mind to live, "and to be rich, and to be Conſulars? But then "*Cæſar* muſt have periſhed in vain. For what "reaſon had we to rejoice at his death, if after it "we were ſtill to continue ſlaves? Let other "people be as indolent as they pleaſe; but, as "for me, may the gods and goddeſſes deprive "me ſooner of every thing, than the reſolution "of not allowing to the heir of him, whom I "killed, what I did not allow to the man him- "ſelf; nor would ſuffer even in my father, were "he living; *to have more power than the laws and* "*the Senate.* How can you imagine that the reſt "of you can ever be free under him, without "whoſe leave there is no place for us in that ci- "ty? Or how is it poſſible for you, after all, to "obtain what you aſk? You beg, *that he would* "*allow us to be ſafe.* Shall we then receive ſafe-

" ty, think you, when we have received life from
" him? But how can we receive it, if we firſt part
" with our honour and our liberty? Do you fancy,
" that to live at *Rome* is to be ſafe? It is the thing,
" and not the place, which muſt ſecure that to
" me: For I was never ſafe while *Cæſar* lived,
" till I had reſolved with myſelf upon that at-
" tempt: Nor can I in any place live in exile,
" as long as I hate ſlavery and inſults above all
" other evils. Is not this to fall back again into
" the ſame ſtate of darkneſs; when he who has
" taken upon him the name of the tyrant (though
" in the cities of *Greece*, when the tyrants are de-
" ſtroyed, their children alſo periſh with them)
" muſt be intreated, that the avengers of tyran-
" ny may be ſafe? Can I ever wiſh to ſee that
" city, or think it a city, which has not the
" power even to accept liberty, when offered,
" and even forced upon it; but has more dread
" of the name of their late King, in the perſon
" of a boy, than confidence in itſelf; though it
" has ſeen that very King taken off in the utmoſt
" height of power, by the virtue of a few? Do
" not recommend me, therefore, any more to
" your *Cæſar*, nor yourſelf indeed, if you will
" hearken to me. You ſet a very high value on
" the few years which remain to you at that age,
" if for the ſake of them you can ſupplicate that
" boy. But take care, after all, leſt what you
" have done, and are doing, ſo laudably againſt
" *Antony*, inſtead of being applauded, as the ef-
" fect of a great mind, *be not charged to the ac-*
" *count of your fear.* For if you are pleaſed with

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" Octa-

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

"*Octavius* ſo, as to petition him for our ſafety, "you will be thought, *not to have diſliked a Maſ-* "*ter, but to have wanted a more friendly one.* As "to your praiſing him, for the things that he "has hitherto done, I entirely approve it; for "they deſerve to be praiſed, provided that he "undertook them to repel other men's power, "not to advance his own. But when you ad- "judge him, not only to have this power, but "that you yourſelf ought to ſubmit to it ſo far, "as to intreat him, that he would not deſtroy "us; you pay him too great a recompence: For "you aſcribe that very thing to him, which the "Republic ſeemed to enjoy through him: Nor "does it ever enter into your thoughts, that, if "*Octavius* be worthy of any honours, becauſe he "wages war with *Antony*; that thoſe, who extir- "pated the very evil, of which theſe are but the "relics, can never be ſufficiently requited by the "*Roman* people; though they were to heap upon "on them every thing that they could beſtow. But "ſee how much ſtronger people's fears are than "their memories, becauſe *Antony* ſtill lives and "is in arms. As to *Cæſar*, all that could and "ought to be done is paſt, and cannot be recal- "led. Is *Octavius* then a perſon of ſo great im- "portance that the people of *Rome* are to expect "from him what he will determine upon us? Or "are we of ſo little that any ſingle man is to be "intreated for our ſafety? As for me, may I ne- "ver return to you, if I ever either ſupplicate "any man, or do not teſtrain thoſe, who are diſ- "poſed to do it, from ſupplicating for them- "ſelves;

" ſelves: Or I will remove to a diſtance from all " ſuch, who can be ſlaves, and fancy myſelf at " *Rome*, wherever I can live free; and ſhall pity " you, whoſe fond deſire of life neither age nor " honours, nor the example of other men's vir- " tue, can moderate. For my part, I ſhall ever " think myſelf happy as long as I can pleaſe my- " ſelf with the perſuaſion, that my piety has been " fully requited. For what can be happier than " for a man, conſcious of virtuous acts, and con- " tent with liberty, to deſpiſe all human affairs? " Yet I will never yield to thoſe who are fond " of yielding, or be conquered by thoſe who are " willing to be conquered themſelves; but will " firſt try and attempt every thing, nor ever de- " ſiſt from dragging our city out of ſlavery. " If ſuch fortune attends me, as I ought to have; " we ſhall all rejoice: If not, I ſhall rejoice my- " ſelf. For how can this life be ſpent better, " than in thoughts and acts which tend to make " my countrymen free? I beg and beſeech you, " *Cicero*, not to deſert the cauſe through weari- " neſs or diffidence. In repelling preſent evils, " have your eye always on the future, leſt they " inſinuate themſelves before you are aware. Con- " ſider, that the fortitude and the courage, with " which you delivered the Republic, when Con- " ſul, and now again, when Conſular, are no- " thing without conſtancy and equability. The " caſe of tried virtue, I own, is harder than of " untried: We require ſervices from it as debts; " and, if any thing diſappoints us, we blame " with reſentment, as if we had been deceived

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" by it. Wherefore, for *Cicero* to withſtand *Antony*, though it be a part highly commendable, " yet, becauſe ſuch a Conſul ſeemed, of courſe, " to promiſe us ſuch a Conſular, nobody wonders " at it. But if the ſame *Cicero*, in the caſe of " others, ſhould waver at laſt in that reſolution, " which he exerted with ſuch firmneſs and greatneſs of mind againſt *Antony*, he would deprive " himſelf, not only of the hopes of future glory, but forfeit even that which is paſt: For " nothing is great in itſelf but what flows from " the reſult of our judgment: Nor does it become any man, more than you, to love the Republic, and to be the patron of liberty; on " the account either of your natural talents, " or your former acts, or the wiſhes and expectations of all men. *Octavius*, therefore, muſt " not be intreated to ſuffer us to live in ſafety. " Do you rather rouſe yourſelf ſo far as to think " that city, in which you have acted the nobleſt " part, free and flouriſhing, as long as there " are leaders ſtill to the people, to reſiſt the " deſigns of traitors."

M. *Crevier*, ſpeaking of this letter of *Brutus*, ſays, *that we ſee in it with admiration the great ſuperiority that virtue alone gives one man over another of the moſt diſtinguiſhed talents, the greateſt dignities, and the moſt advanced age.* Dr. *Middleton*'s judgment is very different: " If we compare, ſays " he, theſe two letters, we ſhall perceive, in *Cicero*'s, *an extenſive view and true judgment of* " *things*, tempered with the greateſt politeneſs

Middl. p. 487.

" and

" and affection for his friend, and an unwilling-
" neſs to diſguſt, where he thought it neceſ-
" ſary even to blame. In *Brutus*'s, a churliſh
" and moroſe arrogance, claiming infinite ho-
" nours to himſelf, yet allowing none to any
" body elſe; inſolently chiding and dictating to
" one, as much ſuperior to him in wiſdom, as he
" was in years; the whole turning upon that ro-
" mantic maxim of the *Stoics*, enforced without
" any regard to times and circumſtances: *That*
" *a wiſe man has a ſufficiency of all things within*
" *himſelf.* There are, indeed, many noble ſenti-
" ments in it, worthy of old *Rome*, which *Ci-*
" *cero*, in a *proper ſeaſon*, would have recommend-
" ed as warmly as he; yet they were not prin-
" ciples to act upon in a conjuncture ſo critical;
" and the rigid application of them is the leſs
" excuſable in *Brutus*, becauſe he himſelf did not
" always practiſe what he profeſſed; but was too
" apt to forget both the *Stoic* and the *Roman.*"
But it muſt be conſidered, that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were at this time at the head of two formidable armies, and maſters of all the eaſtern world, while the Chiefs in the weſt were making war upon one another: In theſe circumſtances, *Brutus* did not doubt but he would be able to vindicate his *ides of March*; and his letter is certainly written with a ſpirit agreeable to the character of a tyrant-killer, authoriſed and armed to defend the liberty of his country. No words can expreſs ſufficiently the meanneſs and folly of good *Cicero*'s prayer in ſuch a conjuncture; and there is no one in *Brutus*'s caſe but would have conceived the great-

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eſt indignation upon the occaſion, without being a *Stoic*, or a *Roman*. As to *Cicero*'s letter, in which we are told, *there is an extenſive view, and true judgment of things*, there is not one argument in it to juſtify *Cicero*'s violent and outrageous behaviour towards *Antony*, and afterwards towards *Lepidus*; which threw him entirely upon *Octavius*; nor any one reaſon given which could induce *Brutus* to hope that he could lead *Octavius* to the defence of liberty; and the meaſures he took to lead him to it were ſuch as to make the moſt ſanguine friends to the cauſe deſpair of his ever bringing it about.

CHAP. XV.

OCTAVIUS *is choſen Conſul, with Pedius, his coheir to Cæſar.* POLLIO *and* PLANCUS *join* ANTONY *and* LEPIDUS. *D. Brutus is killed in his flight. The conſpirators are impeached in form, and condemned at Rome. The law againſt* DOLABELLA *is repealed: His end.* OCTAVIUS *joins* ANTONY *and* LEPIDUS, *and ſettles with them the plan of a triple league. They enter Rome; are choſen reformers of the State, under the name of* TRIUMVIRI, *for five years. They publiſh an edict of proſcription. The death of* CICERO.

OCTAVIUS was choſen Conſul in the legal form by an aſſembly of the people, with *Q. Pedius*[t], his kinſman, and coheir in part of

[t] They were ſubſtituted in the place of the deceaſed Conſuls, *Hirtius* and *Panſa*; and, in their room, were afterwards ſubſtituted *P. Ventidius* and *C. Carinnas*.

his

his uncle's eſtate, in *the month of Sextilis*; which, on the account of this fortunate beginning of his honours, was called afterwards from his own ſurname *Auguſtus*[u]. Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ.

Appian and *Dio* tell us, that his firſt care was to get his adoption by *Julius Cæſar* confirmed in the moſt ſolemn manner by a law of the people; and that he took henceforth the name of *Caius Julius Cæſar Octavianus*; but he had certainly taken this name from the beginning in virtue of his uncle's will, and afterwards of a decree of the Senate. He ſecured, on entering on his magiſtracy, the public money which he found in *Rome*, and divided it among his ſoldiers. App. l. iii. p. 586. Dio. l. xxvi. p. 321.

About this time *Pollio*, who was averſe to the violent proceedings of *Cicero*'s Senate, came to the aſſiſtance of *Antony* and *Lepidus* with two of his beſt legions. This acceſſion made the army of the rebels much ſuperior to that of *Plancus* and *D. Brutus*; who, ſince their junction, had kept

[u] He entered upon his conſulſhip, not on *the 22d of September*, the day before his birth day, as *Velleius Paterculus* places it; but on *the 19th of Auguſt*, as *Dio*, l. lvi. p. 590, puts it: From which date many reckoned the beginning of his reign. He died 56 years after, on the ſame day, a circumſtance to which the people gave great attention; *quod idem dies accepti imperii princeps et vitæ ſupremus fuit*. Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 9. As he ſeized upon the conſulate againſt the will of the Senate, ſo we ſhall ſoon ſee him lay it down without their conſent; and from this moment neither Senate nor people ever recovered ſo much as the appearance of liberty. He was at this time, according to *Livy*, l. 119, *nineteen* years old, that is, he was in his *twentieth* year, as *Suetonius* in *Oct.* 26, *Eutropius*, l. vii. *Plutarch* in *Bruto*, unanimouſly affirm, and the laſt cites *Auguſtus*'s Memoirs.

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upon the defenſive, not thinking themſelves ſtrong enough to force their way into *Italy*. The conſent of theſe Generals, and the unexpected turn of *Antony*'s affairs, ſtaggered the fidelity of *Plancus*, whom we ſhall find hereafter to have had a weak and ſervile mind, and the low talents of a courtier, rather than thoſe of a *Roman* General; and he not only deſerted his collegue *D. Brutus*, but endeavoured to betray him to his enemies [x], which was done with the conſent and approbation of *Octavius*, with whom *Plancus* kept a correſpondence by letters, and by the mediation of his Lieutenant *Furnius*, who was diſpatched to him about the end of *July* [y]. *D. Brutus* thus abandoned,

[x] Plancus deinde *dubia*, id eſt, *ſua fide*, diu quarum eſſet partium ſecum luctatus, ac ſibi difficile conſentiens, et nunc adjutor Bruti deſignati Conſulis, Collegæ ſui, Senatuſque, ſe litteris venditans, mox ejuſdem proditor; *Aſinius* autem *Pollio* firmus propoſito, et Julianis partibus fidus, Pompeianis adverſus; uterque exercitus tradidere Antonio. D. Brutus deſertus primo a Planco, poſt inſidiis ejuſdem petitus,—*Vell. Pat.* ii. 63, 64.

[y] The following letter is the laſt of *Plancus*'s correſpondence with *Cicero*, and bears the loweſt date of any in the collection of *Cicero*'s familiar letters.

PLANCUS, Conſul elect, to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. x. 24. Melm. xv. 18.

"I CANNOT forbear to expreſs, upon every occaſi-
"on, the ſentiments I entertain of your repeated favours:
"Though, at the ſame time, it is with ſome reſerve that I
"indulge myſelf in this ſatisfaction. The great intimacy in-
"deed, which you allow me to enjoy with you, renders all
"formal acknowledgments of this kind unneceſſary: Nor
"would I make ſo cheap a return to the many important ob-
"ligations I owe to you, as that of mere empty profeſſions. I
"had much rather reſerve the proofs of my gratitude to
"ſome future opportunity of teſtifying it in perſon: And,

"if

ed, and left to ſhift for himſelf, with a needy and mutinous army; eager to deſert, and ready to Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

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" if I live, I will convince you by the aſſiduity of my good " offices, and by every inſtance of reſpect and eſteem, that " you have not a friend, nor even a relation, who is ſo warm- " ly attached to you as myſelf. In the mean time, I am at a " loſs to determine, whether the daily pleaſure, or the laſting " honour I ſhall derive from your affectionate regard, will be " greateſt.——I find the intereſt of my troops has been a " part of your care. It was not with any intention of advan- " cing my own power, that I was deſirous they ſhould be diſ- " tinguiſhed by the Senate: As I am conſcious of having no " views, but what regard the welfare of the Republic. My " reaſons were, in the firſt place, becauſe I thought they de- " ſerved to be rewarded; and, in the next place, becauſe I was " deſirous they might upon all occaſions be ſtill more attach- " ed to the Commonwealth. I hoped likewiſe by this " means ſo ſtrongly to fortify them againſt all ſollicitations, " that I might be anſwerable for their continuing to act with " the ſame unſhaken fidelity, which they have hitherto pre- " ſerved.——I have kept entirely upon the defenſive; " and, though I am well appriſed with how much juſt impa- " tience the public wiſhes for a deciſive action, yet I perſuade " myſelf that the Senate will approve my conduct. If any " misfortune indeed ſhould attend our armies in this part of " the world, the Republic would not very ſoon be in a con- " dition to oppoſe any ſudden incurſion of theſe rapacious trai- " tors. As to the ſtate of our forces, I imagine you already " know that thoſe under my command conſiſt of three veteran " legions, together with one new raiſed regiment: Which laſt, " however, is compoſed of far the beſt diſciplined troops I e- " ver ſaw of this ſort. *Brutus* [*Decimus*] on the other ſide is at " the head of ten legions; one of which is veteran; another " has been upon the eſtabliſhment about two years; and all " the reſt are lately raiſed. Thus, you ſee, tho' our army is " very numerous, it is not extremely ſtrong. The Republic " indeed has but too often had occaſion to be convinced, " how little is to be expected from raw and unexperienced

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to give him up to his enemies; had no other way to ſave himſelf, than by flying to his name-ſake in

" forces. However, if we had been joined, either by the *A-*
" *frican* legions, which are compoſed wholly of veteran
" troops, or by *Cæſar*'s, we ſhould without heſitation have
" hazarded a general engagement. As the troops of the lat-
" ter were ſomewhat nearer than the former, *I frequently preſ-*
" *ſed Cæſar by letters to advance; and he accordingly promiſed*
" *to join us with all expedition.* But other views, I perceive,
" have diverted him from theſe intentions. Nevertheleſs, I
" have diſpatched my Lieutenant *Furnius* with another letter
" to him, if happily it may any thing avail. You are ſenſi-
" ble, my dear *Cicero*, that I take an equal part with you in
" the affection you bear to *Octavius.* He has a right to my
" friendſhip; not only from that intimacy which I enjoyed
" with his uncle, but in regard alſo to his own diſpoſition;
" which, as far as I could ever diſcover, is regulated by prin-
" ciples of great moderation and humanity. It would ill
" indeed become that diſtinguiſhed amity, which ſubſiſted
" between *Julius Cæſar* and myſelf, not to look upon *Oc-*
" *tavius* with all the tenderneſs which is due to the ſon of my
" friend; after he has been adopted as ſuch by *Cæſar*'s will,
" and *that adoption approved by the Senate.* What I am going
" to ſay therefore is more the dictates of concern than reſent-
" ment: But it muſt be acknowledged, that *if* ANTONY *ſtill*
" *lives, if he has been joined by* LEPIDUS, *if their armies are*
" *by no means contemptible: In a word, all their hopes and all*
" *their attempts are ſingly owing to* CÆSAR. Not to look
" farther back than to his promiſe of joining me: Had he
" fulfilled the aſſurances he gave me for that purpoſe, the war
" would by this time either have been totally at an end, or
" driven into *Spain*; where the enemy could not have carried
" it on without great diſadvantage, as that province is utterly
" averſe to them. I am at a loſs to conceive, therefore, *with*
" *what view*, or by whoſe advice, *Cæſar* was diverted from
" a meaſure ſo greatly to his intereſt and his honour, in or-
" der to turn his purſuits towards a conſulſhip of a few
" months duration; much to the terror at the ſame time of

" the

in *Macedonia*: But the diſtance was ſo great, and the country ſo guarded, that he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being taken; till, having diſmiſſed all his attendants, and having wandered for ſome time alone in diſguiſe and diſtreſs, he committed himſelf to the protection of an old acquaintance and hoſt, whom he had formerly obliged; where, either through

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Vell. Pat. ii. 64. App. l. iii. p. 588.

" the Republic, and with pretenſions too, exceedingly ridi-
" culous. The remonſtrances of his friends might be ex-
" tremely ſerviceable upon this occaſion, both to himſelf and
" to the Commonwealth. But none of them, I am perſuaded,
" would have ſo much influence over him as yours; as there
" is no man who is ſo much obliged to you, except myſelf:
" For I ſhall ever acknowledge that the favours I have re-
" ceived from you are great and innumerable. I have given
" inſtructions to *Furnius* to ſollicit *Cæſar* upon this ſubject:
" And, if I ſhould have that authority with him which I am
" ſure I ought, he will hereafter thank me for my advice. In
" the mean time, we have a very difficult part to ſuſtain here:
" As, on the one hand, we do not think ourſelves altoge-
" ther ſtrong enough to hazard an engagement: And, on
" the other, muſt take care not to expoſe the Republic to
" greater dangers by declining one. However, if *Cæſar* ſhould
" comply with the dictates of his intereſt and his honour;
" or if the *African* legions ſhould ſpeedily join us; you may
" depend upon having nothing to fear from this quarter.—Let
" me intreat you to continue your friendſhip to me, and to be
" aſſured that I am intirely yours. From my camp, *July* the
" 28*th*."

Plancus was, at this time, the occaſional founder of the town of *Lyons*, by ſettling, at the confluence of the *Saone* and the *Rhone*, the inhabitants of *Vienne*, who were driven out of their poſſeſſions by the *Allobroges*, during theſe diſſenſions of the *Roman* Generals. Though *Vienne* returned ſoon again under the *Roman* power, yet this new colony ſtill ſubſiſted, and, by the advantages of its ſituation, became more flouriſhing than its mother city.

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treachery, or accident, he was ſurpriſed by *Antony*'s ſoldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned with his head to their General [z].

Appian, iii. 586.

Liv. l. 120. Vell. Pat. ii. 69. Suet. in Ner. 3. Plut. in Brut. Dio, xlvi. 322.

Octavius, on his ſide, veſted with the ſovereign authority, kept no meaſures with the party of the Conſpirators. The decree againſt *Dolabella*, whoſe death was not yet known in *Rome*, was revoked; and a law was publiſhed, by the Conſul *Pedius*, to bring to trial and juſtice all thoſe who had been concerned, either in adviſing, or effecting *Cæſar*'s death: In conſequence of which

[z] Several of the old writers have reproached his memory with a ſhameful cowardice in the manner of his ſuffering death; *Quid?* D. BRUTUS *exiguum et infelix momentum vitæ quanto dedecore emit! Nam à* FURIO, *quem ad eum occidendum* ANTONIUS *miſerat, comprehenſus, non ſolùm cervicem gladio ſubtraxit; verùm etiam conſtantiùs eam præbere admonitus, ipſis his verbis juravit:* ITA UT VIVAM, DABO. *O fati cunctationem ærumnoſam!* Val. Max. l. ix. c. 13. Senec. Ep. 82. Dio, l. 46. Dr. *Middleton* rejects this account, and thinks ſuch cowardice *unworthy of the man who killed* CÆSAR *and commanded armies*, and altogether *inconſiſtent with the character of his former life:* As if he could be looked upon in any other light, than as a monſter of ingratitude, perfidy, and cruelty; qualities with which cowardice ſuits admirably well. DECIMUS BRUTUS *deſertus primò a* PLANCO, *poſt inſidiis ejuſdem petitus, paulatim relinquente eum exercitu, fugiens, in hoſpitis cujuſdam nobilis viri, nomine Camelii, domo ab iis quos miſerat* ANTONIUS *jugulatus eſt*; JUSTISSIMASQUE OPTIME DE SE MERITO VIRO CÆSARI POENAS DEDIT: CUJUS CUM PRIMUS OMNIUM AMICORUM FUISSET, INTERFECTOR FUIT, ET FORTUNÆ, EX QUA FRUCTUM TULERAT, INVIDIAM IN AUTHOREM RELEGABAT; CENSEBATQUE ÆQUUM, QUÆ ACCEPERAT A CÆSAREM, RETINERE; CÆSAREM, QUI ILLA DEDERAT, PERIRE. Vell. Pat. ii. 64.

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all the Conſpirators were preſently impeached in form by different accuſers: *L. Cornificius* was the accuſer of *Brutus*, and the famous *M. Agrippa* of *Caſſius*: And, as none of them appeared to their citations, they were all condemned of courſe; and by a ſecond law, *interdicted from fire and water*. *Sextus Pompey*, alſo, though he had borne no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irreconcileable enemy to the *Cæſarean* cauſe. And now *Octavius* diſtributed to the citizens the legacies, which his uncle had left them by his will. Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

Soon after theſe proceedings, the news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *D. Brutus*. *Minutius Baſilus*, another of *Cæſar*'s aſſaſſins, was murdered, about this time, by his ſlaves, enraged at his barbarous treatment of them. App. iii. 588. Oroſ. vi. 18.

The news alſo of *Dolabella*'s defeat and death was not known in *Rome* till after *Pedius*'s law [a]. *Dolabella*, after his ſucceſs againſt *Trebonius*, having pillaged the province of *Aſia* of its money, and of all things uſeful for war, marched forward to execute his grand deſign upon *Syria*; for which he had been making all this preparation. But *Caſſius* was beforehand with him, and, having got poſſeſſion of that country, and of all the armies in Middl. p. 443. App. l. iv. 625. Dio, xlvii. 344. Ep. Fam. xii. 13. 15.

[a] Dr. *Middleton* is certainly miſtaken, when he ſays, "*Not long after the battle of Modena*, the news of *Dolabella*'s defeat and *death*, from *Aſia*, brought a freſh occaſion of joy to *Cicero* and his friends at *Rome*." It appears, by a letter to *C. Caſſius*, written after the 30*th of June*, and copied above in the text, as alſo by another of *Caſſius*, the Quæſtor, to *Cicero*, dated from *Cyprus*, *June* the 13*th*, [Ep. Fam. xii. 13.] that *Dolabella* was not yet deſtroyed: And in none of *Cicero*'s letters is his death mentioned.

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it, was much ſuperior to him in force. *Dolabella*, however, made his way with ſome ſucceſs thro' *Cilicia*, and came before *Antioch* in *Syria*, but was denied admittance into it; and, after ſome vain attempts to take it, being repulſed with loſs, marched to *Laodicea*, which had before invited, and now opened its gates to him. Here *Caſſius* came up with him, and preſently inveſted the place, where, after he had deſtroyed *Dolabella*'s fleet in two or three naval engagements, he ſhut him up cloſely by ſea as well as by land, till *Dolabella*, ſeeing no way to eſcape, and the town unable to hold out any longer, put an end to his own life, by the aſſiſtance of one of his ſlaves, to prevent his falling alive into *Caſſius*'s hands, and ſuffering the ſame treatment he had ſhewn to *Trebonius*: But *Caſſius* generouſly ordered his body to be buried, with that of his Lieutenant *Octavius*, who killed himſelf alſo with him.

The people of *Laodicea*, if we believe *Dio*, were only fined in a ſum of money; but *Appian* ſays, that *Caſſius* committed great extortions and cruelties, and reduced the town to the utmoſt miſery. The ſame author relates, that the town of *Tarſus*, which had alſo favoured *Dolabella*, was fined 1500 talents, [290,625 l.] and that, in order to raiſe this ſum, the magiſtrates were obliged to ſell not only the ornaments of their city, but alſo ſome of their citizens for ſlaves.

Middl. p. 488. Liv. 120. Dior. iv. 6.

Octavius had no ſooner ſettled the affairs of the city, and ſubdued the Senate to his mind, than he marched back towards *Gaul*, to meet *Anto-*

Antony and *Lepidus*; who had already paſſed the *Alps*, and brought their armies into *Italy*, in order to have a perſonal interview with him; which had been privately concerted for ſettling the terms of a triple league, and dividing the power and provinces of the Empire among themſelves. The place appointed for the interview was a ſmall iſland about two miles from *Bononia*, formed by the river *Rhenus*, which runs near to that city: Here they met, not without jealouſy and ſuſpicion of danger from each other; being all three attended by their choiceſt troops, each with five legions, diſpoſed in ſeparate camps within ſight of the iſland. *Lepidus* entered it the firſt, as an equal friend to the other two, to ſee that the place was clear and free from treachery; and, when he had given the ſignal agreed upon, *Antony* and *Octavius* advanced from the oppoſite banks of the river, and paſſed into the iſland by bridges, which they left guarded on each ſide by three hundred of their own men. It is reported that their firſt care, inſtead of embracing, was to ſearch one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under their cloaths; and, when that ceremony was over, *Octavius* took his ſeat betwixt the other two, in the moſt honourable place, on account of his being Conſul. They ſpent three days in cloſe conference to adjuſt the plan of their accommodation; the ſubſtance of which was: "That the three ſhould be "inveſted jointly with the ſupreme power, for "the term of five years, with the title of *Triumvirs for ſettling the State of the Republic*; that "they

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Plut. Cic. & Brut. App. iv. 589. Dio, xlvii. 325.

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"they ſhould act in all caſes by common conſent; nominate the Magiſtrates and Governors "both at home and abroad; and determine all "affairs relating to the Public, by their ſole will "and pleaſure: That *Octavius* ſhould have, for "his peculiar province, *Africa*, with *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the other iſlands of the *Mediterranean*; *Lepidus*, *Spain*, with the *Narboneſe Gaul*; "*Antony*, the other *two Gauls*, on both ſides of "the *Alps*: And that *Octavius* ſhould reſign the "conſulſhip to *Ventidius* for the remainder of the "year: That *Antony* and *Octavius* ſhould proſecute the war againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, each of "them at the head of twenty legions; and *Lepidus*, with three legions, be left to guard the city: And, at the end of the war, that eighteen "cities or colonies, the beſt and richeſt of *Italy*, "together with their lands and diſtricts, ſhould "be taken from their owners, and aſſigned to the "perpetual poſſeſſion of the ſoldiers, as a reward "of their faithful ſervices." Theſe conditions were publiſhed to their ſeveral armies, and received by them with acclamations of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy union of their Chiefs; which, at the deſire of the ſoldiers, was ratified likewiſe by a marriage, agreed to be conſummated between *Octavius* and *Clodia*, the daughter of *Antony*'s wife *Fulvia*, by her firſt huſband, *P. Clodius*.

The laſt thing that they adjuſted was the liſt of a proſcription, which they were determined to make of their enemies. This, as the hiſtorians tell us, occaſioned much difficulty and warm conteſts

teſts amongſt them, till each of them, in his turn, conſented to ſacrifice ſome of his beſt friends to the revenge and reſentment of his collegues. The whole liſt is ſaid to have conſiſted of *three hundred Senators and two thouſand Knights.* They reſerved the publication of it till their arrival at *Rome*, excepting only a few of the moſt obnoxious, the heads of the Republican party, about ſeventeen in all; the chief of whom was *Cicero.* Theſe they marked out for immediate deſtruction, and ſent their emiſſaries away directly, to ſurpriſe and murder them, before any notice could reach them of their danger: Four of the number were preſently taken and killed in the company of their friends; and the reſt hunted out by the ſoldiers in private houſes and temples; which preſently filled the city with an univerſal terror and conſternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy. So that the Conſul *Pedius* was forced to run about the ſtreets all the night, to quiet the minds and appeaſe the fears of the people, and, as ſoon as it was light, publiſhed the names of *the Seventeen*, who were principally ſought for, with an aſſurance of ſafety and indemnity to all others: But he himſelf was ſo ſhocked and fatigued by the horror of this night's work, that he died *the day following.*

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The Triumvirs ſoon arrived, and made their entry on three ſeveral days: *Octavius* the firſt, then *Lepidus*, and laſt of all *Antony*; each attended with a prætorian cohort and one legion. *P. Titius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, immediately propoſed a law, for the conſtituting of

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three Sovereign Magiſtrates, Reformers of the Republic, for five years, *M. Antonius*, *Lepidus*, and *Octavius*, who took poſſeſſion of their office on the *27th of November*. Then they gave out their edict of proſcription, and retaliated, upon the nobles and ariſtocratic faction, the cruelties of *Sylla*: This edict *Appian* pretends to give us, but it is a moſt ſorry piece, and drawn up very probably by himſelf. *Cicero* was at his *Tuſculan* villa with his brother and nephew, when he firſt received the news of the proſcription, and of their being included in it. Notwithſtanding the prophetic ſpirit, with which he is commonly ſuppoſed to have been endowed, he did not, probably, foreſee this dire event [b]. Undoubtedly he

[b] After *Antony*'s defeat, imagining all danger to be over on that ſide, he had ſent *M. Brutus* in purſuit of *Dolabella*, and it was decreed by the Senate, that the war againſt this Rebel ſhould be carried on jointly by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. But, before *Dolabella* was deſtroyed, he was very importunate in his letters to engage them to bring their armies immediately into *Italy*, and comply with a vote of the Senate, which he had moved for, after the junction of *Lepidus* and *Antony*, b the advice of *D. Brutus*:

CICERO to M. BRUTUS.

Ad Brut. Ep. x. Middl. Ed. 29. p. 127.

"WE have yet had no letters from you, nor ſo much as "any report, to inform us, that, in purſuance *of the vote of the* "*Senate*, you were bringing your army into *Italy*: Which "that you would do, and with all ſpeed, the Republic ear- "neſtly deſired of you. *For our inteſtine evil gains ground up-* "*on us every day; nor do we find more trouble from our enemies* "*abroad, than from thoſe at home: Who were troubleſome, in-* "*deed, from the beginning of the war, but more eaſily kept un-* "*der.*" [The partiſan of *Antony* and *Lepidus*.] For the Se- "nate

he depended, for his own and his family's ſafety on the power of *Octavius*, who had given him the

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" nate was then in higher ſpirits, rouſed not only by my " votes, but exhortations. *Panſa* at the head of it was ſuffi- " ciently briſk and vigorous againſt all the reſt of that claſs; " but, above all, againſt his father-in-law: [*Calenus*] who, " during his conſulſhip, wanted neither courage from the " beginning, nor fidelity to the laſt. The war was ſo ma- " naged at *Mutina*, that you could find no fault with *Cæſar*, " though ſome with *Hirtius*. The fortune of this war, if " compared with a proſperous State, is uncertain; if with an " adverſe one, good. The Republic was victorious; *An-* " *tony*'s forces routed; he himſelf driven out of *Italy* by " *Decimus*. But ſo many blunders enſued, that the victory " ſlipped, as it were, out of our hands: For our Generals did " not think fit to purſue the frightened, diſarmed, diſabled " Rebels:" [His pupil *Octavius* would not, and *Decimus* could not] " and an opportunity was given to *Lepidus*, to make us " feel the effects of his levity; tho' felt by us, indeed, often " before, but now to our greater miſchief. The armies of " *Brutus* and *Plancus* are good, but raw:" [*Plancus* had four legions, three of which were veteran; *Decimus*, of ten, had but one veteran:] " The *Gallic* auxiliaries faithful and nu- " merous. But, as to *Cæſar*, who has been governed hi- " therto by my advice, and *is indeed of an excellent diſpoſition,* " *and wonderful conſtancy*, ſome people, by moſt wicked let- " ters, meſſages, and fallacious accounts of things, have puſh- " ed him to an aſſured hope of the conſulſhip. Which, as " ſoon as I perceived, I never ceaſed admoniſhing him in his " abſence, nor reproaching his friends here preſent, who " ſeemed to encourage his ambition: Nor did I ſcruple to " lay open the ſource of thoſe traiterous counſels in the Se- " nate; nor do I ever remember the Senate or the Magiſ- " trates to have behaved better on any occaſion. For it ne- " ver happened before, in voting an extraordinary honour " to a powerful, or rather moſt powerful man, (ſince pow- " er is now meaſured by force and arms) that no Tribune, " nor any other Magiſtrate, nor ſo much as a private Se-

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the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his protection. And the old hiſtorians tell us, that *Octavius* did not give

Vell. Pat. ii. 66. Plut. in Ant. Suet. in Aug. 27.

" nator would move for it *. Yet, in the midſt of all this " firmneſs and virtue, the city is ſtill alarmed: For we are " inſulted, *Brutus*, both by the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, " and the inſolence of the Generals. Every one demands to " have as much power in the State as he has force to extort it: " No reaſon, no moderation, no law, no cuſtom, no duty, is " at all regarded; no judgment or opinion of the citizens; " no reverence for poſterity." [Had not this been the State of *Rome*, even as far back as from the time of the *Gracchi?*] " *I had foreſeen all this long beforehand*, and was flying out of " *Italy*, at the time when the fame of your edicts called me

* Dr. *Middleton*, p. 456, thinks that this letter evidently proves, that *Cicero* never favoured *Octavius*'s pretenſions to the conſulſhip, but was, of all men, the moſt averſe to his deſign, and the moſt active in diſſuading him from purſuing it. Mr. *Melmoth*, (Vol. iii. p. 382.) on the other ſide, is of opinion, that it does not diſcredit the evidence of *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Dio*. " There ſeems, ſays he, to be the ſtrong- " eſt reaſon to queſtion either the *authenticity*, or the *veracity*, of this " letter: Becauſe it is moſt certain, from one of *Cicero*'s *Philippics*, " that he actually did favour the earlieſt poſſible promotion of *Octa-* " *vius* to the conſulate. *Quid eſt enim, P. C.* ſays he, *cur eum* " (Octavium) *non* QUAMPRIMUM AMPLISSIMOS HONORES *ca-* " *pere cupiamus? Legibus enim annalibus cum grandiorem ætatem* " *ad conſulatum conſtituebant, adoleſcentiæ temeritatem verebantur.* " *C. Cæſar incunte ætate docuit, ab excellenti, eximiaque virtute,* " *progreſſum ætatis expectari non oportere: In hoc ſpes libertа-* " *tis poſita eſt; ab hoc accepta jam ſalus, huic ſummi honores et* " *exquiruntur et parati ſunt.* Philipp. v. 17, 18. Could *Cicero* " after this, *without being guilty of the wildeſt and weakeſt incon-* " *ſiſtency*, admoniſh *Octavius* by letter againſt his deſigns upon the " conſulſhip; reproach thoſe to their face who encouraged him in that " ambitious view; and lay open the ſource of theſe traiterous counſels " in the Senate: When he had himſelf, in the ſpeech and in the paſ- " ſage above cited, ſaid every thing that his wit and his eloquence " could ſuggeſt, in favour of *Octavius*'s premature advancement to " the conſular office? . . . In farther confirmation of that hiſtorical " evidence, for which I am contending, it may be obſerved, that " *Plutarch* cites the authority of *Octavius* himſelf for what he af- " firms concerning the private agreement between *Octavius* and " *Cicero*, in regard to the conſulate. And it is probable he took " this piece of ſecret hiſtory from thoſe Memoirs, which *Octavius* " wrote of his own life, as it is cert in that both *Plutarch* and *Appian* " made great uſe of them in compiling their hiſtories."

" back

give up *Cicero* to the revenge of his collegues, without the greateſt reluctance, and after a Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

R 2 ſtruggle

" back again. But you, *Brutus*, gave me freſh courage at " *Velia:* For, tho' it grieved me to think that I was going to " that city, from which you, who had given liberty to it, was " forced to fly, (which had happened alſo formerly to me, " in a caſe of ſimilar danger, but of more unhappy iſſue) I " yet went on and came to *Rome*; and, *without the ſupport " of any guard, ſhook the power of Antony*; and, by my ad- " vice and authority, ſecured to us the troops of *Cæſar*, which " the occaſion offered, againſt his traiterous arms. In whom, " *if he continues in the ſame diſpoſition and deference to my ad- " vice*, we are likely to have a ſufficient guard." [It muſt be owned that the behaviour of this docile pupil, ſince the raiſing of the ſiege of *Mutina*, does much honour to the tutor.] " But if the counſels of the diſaffected ſhould have more " influence with him than mine; or if the imbecillity of his " age ſhould not be able to ſuſtain the weight of the affairs, " which he has now upon his hands; all our hopes are in " you. For which reaſon, *fly to us*, I beſeech you; and per- " fect your work of freeing the Republic, which you have " freed rather, as yet, by your virtue and greatneſs of mind, " than in fact and reality. All the world will run to you. " Exhort *Caſſius* by letter to do the ſame. There is no hope " of liberty any where but in the ſtrength of your camps. " We have *both the Generals, and the armies in the Weſt, whol- " ly firm to us:* I have ſome confidence alſo, *that theſe troops " of the young man are ſtill firm:* But there are ſo many at " work to pervert them, *that I am ſometimes afraid leſt they " make an impreſſion on him.*" [What! was he not already perverted, when, in contempt of the laws and the Senate, he demanded the conſulſhip by a deputation of his officers, and marched his army towards *Rome*.] " You ſee the whole " ſtate of the Republic, as it ſtood at the time when I was " ſending away this letter. I wiſh that things may henceforward take a better turn: But if it ſhould fall out otherwiſe " (which omen the gods avert!) I ſhall lament the fate of

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ſtruggle of two days to preſerve him. It was the deſign of the triumvirate to keep their reſolution

" the Republic, which ought to be immortal: But what a " poor ſhare of life is left at theſe years for me?"

Middl. Ed. 20. p. 139.

In a letter that ſoon followed the foregoing, he writes: " I " beg of you, my *Brutus*, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, that " you would not diſmiſs my ſon; but bring him hither along " with you. This you muſt do inſtantly, if you have any " regard for the Republic, for which you was born. For " the war is renewed upon us by the great treachery of *Le-* " *pidus*: And, *as for Cæſar's army*, which was the beſt, *it* " *is not only of no ſervice to us, but obliges us even to call for* " *yours*. Whenever you ſhall ſet foot in *Italy*, there will not " be a ſingle citizen, whom we can truly call by that name, " who will not preſently be in your camp. We have *D.* " *Brutus*, indeed, happily united with *Plancus*: But you are " not ignorant, how uncertain the minds of men infected with " party, as well as the events of battles, are." [Of the Generals of the Weſt, who were all firm in the laſt letter, *Pollio* ſeems in this to be given up, and *Plancus* is now ſuſpected.] " Nay, ſhould we conquer, as I hope we ſhall, there " will be a great want of your advice and authority, to ſet- " tle all our affairs. *Help us, therefore, for God's ſake, and* " *that as ſoon as poſſible: And aſſure yourſelf that you did not* " *do a greater ſervice to your country on* THE IDES OF MARCH, " *when you delivered your fellow-citizens from ſlavery, than* " *you will do by coming to us quickly.* JULY THE 12*th*."

Middl. p. 466.

But, after all theſe repeated entreaties and remonſtrances of *Cicero*, neither *Brutus*, nor *Caſſius*, ſeem to have entertained the leaſt thought of coming with their armies to *Italy*. *Caſſius*, indeed, by being more remote, and having *Dolabella* to oppoſe, could not come ſo readily, and was not ſo much expected as *Brutus*, who, before the battle of *Mutina*, had drawn all his legions to the ſea-coaſt, and kept them at *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium*, waiting the event of that action, and ready to embark for *Italy*, if any accident had made his aſſiſtance neceſſary; for which *Cicero* highly com-

Ad Brut. ii.

mends him. But, upon the news of *Antony*'s defeat, taking all

lution a ſecret, if poſſible, to the moment of execution; in order to ſurpriſe thoſe whom they had Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

all the danger to be over (as well as *Cicero* and his Senate;) he (with their approbation) marched directly away to the remoteſt parts of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, to oppoſe the attempts of *Dolabella* * (who ſent about that time five cohorts as far as the *Thracian Cherſoneſus* upon the *Helleſpont*,) and from that time ſeemed deaf to the call of the Senate, and to all *Cicero*'s letters. His conduct, however, ſeems to have been extremely prudent. He was ſenſible that his arrival with an armed force would ſtartle the veterans and all the *Cæſarean* party, and drive them into one camp: And he might well Ad Brut. ii.

* "ON the 27*th of April*, when we were debating on the means "of proſecuting the war againſt thoſe who are adjudged to be ene- "mies, *Servilius* moved, that *Ventidius* alſo ſhould be included in "that number; and that *Caſſius* ſhould purſue *Dolabella*: To whom, "when I had aſſented, I made this farther motion: *That you alſo, if* "*you thought it of uſe and benefit to the Republic, ſhould carry on the* "*war againſt Dolabella*; but, if you could not do it with conve- "nience to the public affairs, or did not think it for the public ſer- "vice, that you ſhould keep your army in the ſame quarters where "you now are. The Senate could not decree any thing more ho- "nourable to you, than that it ſhould be left to you to determine what "was the moſt conducive to the ſervice of the Republic. *My opinion* "*of the matter is this*: That, if *Dolabella* has any troops, any "camp, any place, where he can make a ſtand, it concerns your cha- "racter and dignity to purſue him. As to our *Caſſius*'s forces, we "know nothing at all about them: For we have neither received any "letters from him, nor any intelligence that we could depend upon "as certain. You are very ſenſible of what importance it is, that "*Dolabella* ſhould be deſtroyed: Not only that he may ſuffer the pu- "niſhment due to his treaſon, but that the Chiefs of the Rebels may "not have a place to reſort to, in their flight from *Mutina*. *That* "*this was my opinion even before, you may recollect from my for-* "*mer letters: Though at that time our only refuge was in your camp,* "*and our hopes of ſafety in your army. Wherefore now, when* "*we are delivered, as I hope, from all danger, we ought to be* "*more intent on the ruin of Dolabella.*" Ad Brut. v. "I highly "applaud your reſolution, of not removing your army from *Apol-* "*lonia* and *Dyrrhachium*, before you had heard of *Antony*'s flight, "*Brutus*'s eruption, and the victory of the *Roman* people. As to "what you write, therefore, that you have ſince reſolved to lead your "army into the *Cherſoneſe*, nor to ſuffer the Empire of *Rome* to be "inſulted by a moſt wicked enemy; you do what is agreeable to "your dignity and the public ſervice." *Ad Brut.* ii.

ſuſpect

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had deſtined to deſtruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to eſcape. Some ſuſpect the fidelity of his troops, and that they were not ſufficiently confirmed and attached to him, to be truſted in the field againſt the veterans in *Italy*; whoſe example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might very probably induce them to deſert, and betray their Commanders. We find that, even while the Conſuls lived, *Brutus* was cautious of letting them know at *Rome*, how proſperouſly *Caſſius*'s affairs went on in *Syria*, for fear of giving umbrage to their enemies; and the following letter ſhews us that *Cicero*'s ſcheme, of bringing *Brutus* into *Italy*, was not approved of by his relations and friends in *Rome*. I lay it before the reader alſo upon other accounts:

CICERO to M. BRUTUS.

Ad Brut. Ep. xviii. Middl. Ed. Ep. xxiii. p. 181.

"AFTER I had often exhorted you by letters to come, "as ſoon as poſſible, to the relief of the Republic, and bring "your army into *Italy*; and never imagined that your own "people had any ſcruples about it; I was deſired, by that "moſt prudent and diligent woman, your mother, all whoſe "thoughts and cares are employed on you, that I would come "to her on the *24th of July*; which I did, as I ought, "without delay. When I came I found *Caſca*, *Labeo*, and "*Scaptius* with her. She preſently entered into the affair, "and aſked my opinion, whether we ſhould ſend for you to "*Italy*; and whether I thought it beſt for you to come, or "to continue abroad. I declared what I took to be moſt for "your honour and reputation, that, without loſs of time, you "ſhould bring preſent help to the tottering and declining "State. For what miſchief may we not expect from that "war, where the conquering armies refuſed to purſue a fly-"ing enemy? Where a General unhurt, unprovoked, poſ-"ſeſſed of the higheſt honours, and the greateſt fortunes; "with a wife and children, and near relation to you; has "declared war againſt the Commonwealth? I may add, "where, in ſo great a concord of the Senate and the peo-"ple, there reſides ſtill ſo much diſorder within the walls?

"But,

Some of *Cicero*'s friends, perhaps by the contrivance of *Octavius*, found means, however, to give Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" But the greateſt grief, which I feel, while I am now wri-
" ting, is to reflect, that, when the Republic had taken my
" word *for a youth*, or rather *a boy*, I ſhall hardly have it in
" my power to make good what I promiſed for him. For
" it is a thing of much greater delicacy and moment to engage
" one's ſelf for another's ſentiments and principles, eſpeci-
" ally in affairs of importance, than for money: For money
" may be paid, and the loſs itſelf is tolerable: But how can
" you pay what you are engaged for to the Republic, unleſs
" he, for whom you ſtand engaged, will ſuffer it to be paid?
" *Yet I am ſtill in hopes to hold him, tho' many are plucking him*
" *away from me:*" [What can *Cicero* mean here, unleſs it is, that he hopes to engage *Octavius*'s mercy for *Brutus* and *Caſſius?*] " For his diſpoſition ſeems good, tho' his age is flexi-
" ble; and many are always at hand to corrupt him; who,
" by throwing in his way the ſplendor of falſe honour, think
" themſelves ſure of dazzling his good ſenſe and underſtand-
" ing. Wherefore, to all my other labours, this new one is
" added, of ſetting all engines at work to hold faſt the young
" man, *leſt I incur the imputation of raſhneſs.* Though what
" raſhneſs is it after all? For in reality, I bound him, for
" whom I was engaged, more ſtrongly than myſelf. Nor has
" the Republic as yet any cauſe to repent, that I was his
" ſponſor: Since he has been hitherto the more firm and con-
" ſtant in acting for us, as well from his own temper, as for
" the ſake of my promiſe. The greateſt difficulty in the Re-
" public, if I miſtake not, is the want of money: For honeſt
" men grow every day more and more averſe to the name of
" tribute *; and what was gathered from the hundredth pen-
" ny,

* This tribute ſeems to have been a ſort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man's ſubſtance; and had been wholly diſuſed in *Rome*, ever ſince the conqueſt of *Macedonia* by *P. Æmilius*; which produced a revenue ſufficient to eaſe the Republic ever after from that burden, till the preſent neceſſity obliged them to renew it. *Plin. H. Nat.* xxxiii. 3. " From the averſion, ſays Dr. *Middleton*, which
" *even*

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give him early notice of it; upon which he immediately ſet forward with his brother and nephew, towards *Aſtura*, the neareſt villa which he had upon the ſea, with intent to tranſport themſelves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But *Quintus*, being wholly unprepared for ſo ſudden a voyage, reſolved to turn back with his ſon to *Rome*, in confidence of lying concealed there, till they could provide money and neceſſaries for

" ny, [a tax of one *per cent.* paid by the month,] where the " rich are ſhamefully rated, is all ſpent in rewarding the *two* " *legions*." [Though they refuſed to obey a decree of the Senate ordering them to ſerve under *D. Brutus*.] " There is " an infinite expence upon us to ſupport the armies, which " now defend us; and alſo yours; for our *Caſſius* ſeems like- " ly to come ſufficiently provided. But I long to talk over " this, and many things, with you in perſon; and that quick- " ly. As to your ſiſter's children, I did not wait, *Brutus*, " for your writing to me: The times themſelves, ſince the " war will be drawn into length, reſerve the whole affair to " you." [Such was *Cicero's foreſight*, notwithſtanding the many proofs of *Octavius's* diſaffection to what was called the cauſe of the Republic:] " But, from the firſt, when I could " not foreſee the continuance of the war, I pleaded the cauſe " of the children in the Senate, in a manner which you have " been informed of, I gueſs, by your mother's letters: Nor " can there be any caſe where I will not both ſay and do, " even at the hazard of my life, whatever I think agreeable " either to your inclination, or to your intereſt. *The 26th of* " *July*."

" *even the honeſt* are here ſaid to have ſhewn to the renewal of it, one " cannot but reflect on the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, " which had infected the Republic in this age, and haſtened its ruin." But what diſguſted *theſe honeſt* was, probably, to ſee their money employed in recompenſing *veteran ſoldiers*, traitors to the cauſe of the Republic, and rebels to the Senate; which nothing but *Cicero's* exceſſive complaiſance for *Octavius*, or the dread of him, could make him approve.

their

their ſupport abroad. The diligence of *Antony*'s emiſſaries eluded all their caution. The ſon was found out firſt; who is ſaid to have been more ſollicitous for the preſervation of his father, than to provide for his own ſafety. Upon his refuſal to diſcover where his father lay hid, he was put to the rack by the ſoldiers; till the father, to reſcue his ſon from torture, came out of his hiding place, and voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf, making no other requeſt to his executioners, than that they would diſpatch him the firſt of the two. The ſon urged the ſame petition, to ſpare him the miſery of being the ſpectator of his father's murder; ſo that the aſſaſſins, to ſatisfy them both, taking each of them apart, killed them by agreement at the ſame time. *Cicero*, in the mean while, found a veſſel ready for him at *Aſtura*, in which he preſently embarked: But, the winds being croſs and turbulent, and the ſea wholly uneaſy to him, after he had ſailed about twelve leagues along the coaſt, he landed at *Circæum*, and ſpent a night near that place in great anxiety and irreſolution. The queſtion was, what courſe he ſhould ſteer; and whether he ſhould fly to *Brutus*, or to *Caſſius*, or to *S. Pompeius*; but, after all his deliberations, none of them pleaſed him ſo much as the expedient of dying [c]. According to *Plutarch*, he had ſome thoughts of returning to the city, and killing himſelf in *Cæ-*

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Plut. Cic. App. 601. Dio, p. 333.

Middl. p. 495.

[c] Cremutius Cordus ait, Ciceroni cùm cogitaſſet, utrumne Brutum, an Caſſium, an S. Pompeium peteret, omnia diſplicuiſſe præter mortem. *Senec. Suaſor.* vi.

ſar's

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ſar's houſe, in order to leave the guilt and curſe of his blood upon *Cæſar*'s perfidy and ingratitude: But the importunity of his ſervants prevailed with him to ſail forward to *Cajeta*; where he went again on ſhore, to repoſe himſelf in his *Formian* villa, about a mile from the coaſt; weary of life and the ſea; and declaring that he would die in that country, which he had ſo often ſaved [d]. Here he ſlept ſoundly for ſeveral hours; tho', as moſt writers tell us, "a great number of crows "were fluttering all the while and making a "ſtrange noiſe about his windows, as if to rouſe "and warn him of his approaching fate; and "that one of them made its way into the cham-"ber, and pulled away his very bed-cloaths; till "his ſlaves, admoniſhed by this prodigy, and "aſhamed to ſee brute creatures more ſollicitous "for his ſafety than themſelves, forced him into "a litter, or portable chair, and carried him a-"way towards the ſhip, through the private ways "and walks of his woods; having juſt heard, "that ſoldiers were already come into the coun-"try in queſt of him, and were then not far from "the villa." As ſoon as they were gone, the ſoldiers arrived at the houſe; and, perceiving him to be fled, purſued immediately towards the ſea, and overtook him in the wood. Their leader was one *Popilius Lænas*, a Tribune, or Colonel of the army, whom *Cicero* had formerly defended and pre-

Plut. Cic.

[d] Tædium tandem eum et fugæ et vitæ cepit: regreſſuſque ad ſuperiorem villam, quæ paulo plus mille paſſibus à mari abeſt; *moriar*, inquit, *in patria ſæpe ſervata*. Liv. fragm. apud Senec. Suaſor. i.

ſerved

ſerved in a capital cauſe. As ſoon as the ſoldiers appeared, the ſervants prepared themſelves to fight, being reſolved to defend their maſter's life at the hazard of their own. But *Cicero* commanded them to ſet him down, and make no reſiſtance: Then, looking upon his executioners with a preſence of mind and firmneſs, which almoſt daunted them, and, thruſting his neck as forwardly as he could out of the litter, he bad them do their work, and take what they wanted: Upon which they preſently cut off his head and both his hands, and returned with them in all haſte and great joy towards *Rome*, as the moſt agreeable preſent which they could poſſibly carry to *Antony*. *Popilius* charged himſelf with the conveyance, without reflecting on the infamy of carrying that head, which had ſaved his own. He found *Antony* in the Forum, ſurrounded with guards and crowds of people; but upon ſhewing, from a diſtance, the ſpoils, which he had brought, he was rewarded upon the ſpot with the honour of a crown, and about eight thouſand pounds ſterling. *Antony* ordered the head to be fixed upon the Roſtra between the two hands; a ſad ſpectacle to the city: It drew tears from every eye to ſee thoſe mangled members, which uſed to exert themſelves ſo glorioufly from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of the *Roman* people, ſo lamentably expoſed to the ſcorn of ſycophants and traitors. *The deaths of the reſt*, ſays an hiſtorian of that age, *cauſed only a private and particular ſorrow; but Cicero's an univerſal one.* Yet it muſt be owned, *that he had*

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Liv. fragm.

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had ſo much the leſs reaſon to complain of his fate, as it is certain that he ſuffered nothing more than he would have inflicted, had fortune put ANTONY *in his power:* And that he had brought this ruin upon himſelf and his friends by his raſh and cruel counſels. *Brutus*, who immediately revenged his death upon *C. Antonius*, the Triumvir's brother, is reported, upon receiving of the news, to have ſaid, *that he was more aſhamed of the cauſe of it than afflicted at the loſs.* He was killed on the *7th* of *December*, about ten days from the ſettlement of the triumvirate, after he had lived *ſixty-three years, eleven months, and five days*[e].

Antony,

[e] *Middl. p.* 499. "The odium of *Cicero*'s death fell chiefly "on *Antony*, yet it left a ſtain of perfidy and ingratitude alſo "on *Auguſtus*; which explains the reaſon of that ſilence, which "is obſerved about him, by the writers of that age; and why "his name is not ſo much as mentioned either by *Horace* or "*Virgil*. . . . . *Livy*, though he ſeems to extenuate the "crime of *Cicero*' murder, yet, after *a high encomium of his* "VIRTUE *, declares, that to praiſe him as he deſerved re-"quired the eloquence of *Cicero* himſelf. . . . . In the ſuc-"ceeding generation, as the particular envy to *Cicero* ſub-"ſided, by the death of thoſe whom private intereſts and per-"ſonal quarrels had engaged to hate him while living, and "defame him when dead, ſo his name and memory began

* The fragment of *Livy* is as follows: *Vixit tres et ſexaginta annos, ut, ſi vis abſuiſſet, ne immatura quidem mors videri poſſit. Ingenium et operibus, et præmiis operum felix: Ipſe fortunæ diu proſperæ: Et in longo tenore felicitatis, magnus interim ictus vulneribus, Exſilio, ruinâ partium pro quibus ſteterat, filiæ morte, exitu tam triſti atque acerbo, omnium adverſorum nihil, ut viro dignum erat, tulit, præter mortem: Quæ verè æſtimanti minus indigna videri potuit, quod à victore inimico nil crudelius paſſus erat, quam quod ejuſdem fortunæ compos ipſe feciſſet. Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia penſârit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, et in cujus laudes perſequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit.* Ap. Senec. Suaſor. vii. Here, I ſhould think, there is no high encomium of his virtue.

"to

Antony, ſatiated with *Cicero*'s blood, declared the proſcription at an end, in regard to himſelf. He Y.R. 710, Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf.

" to ſhine out in its proper luſtre: And, in the reign even " of *Tiberius*, when an eminent ſtateſman and hiſtorian, *Cre-* " *mutius Cordus*, was condemned to die for praiſing *Brutus*, " yet *Paterculus* could not forbear breaking out into the " following warm expoſtulation with *Antony*, on the ſub- " ject of *Cicero*'s death: *Thou haſt done nothing, Antony;* " *haſt done nothing, I ſay, by ſetting a price on that divine and* " *illuſtrious head, and, by a deteſtable reward, procuring the* " *death of ſo great a Conſul and Preſerver of the Republic.* " *Thou haſt ſnatched from* CICERO *a troubleſome being; a* " *declining age; a life more miſerable, under thy dominion, than* " *death itſelf; but, ſo far from diminiſhing the glory of his* " *deeds and ſayings, thou haſt increaſed it. He lives and will* " *live in the memory of all ages; and as long as this ſyſtem of* " *nature, whether by chance or providence, or what way ſoever* " *formed, (which he alone of all the Romans comprehended in his* " *mind, and illuſtrated with his eloquence, ſhall remain intire,* " *it will draw the praiſes of* CICERO *along with it; and all* " *poſterity will admire his writings againſt thee, and curſe thy act* " *againſt him.*" [Undoubtedly, this hiſtorian greatly paid his court to the reigning family, in charging *Antony* with the whole odium of the proſcription.] " From this period, all " the *Roman* writers, whether poets or hiſtorians, ſeem to vie " with each other in celebrating the praiſes of *Cicero*, as the " parent of *Roman* wit and eloquence *; who had done more " honour to his country, by his writings, than all *their con-* " *querors by their arms, and extended the bounds of their learn-* " *ing beyond thoſe of their empire.* So that their very Empe- " rors, near three centuries after his death, began to reve- " rence him in the claſs of *their inferior deities:* A rank which " he would have preſerved to this day, if he had happened " to live in *papal Rome*; where he could not have failed, as " *Eraſmus* ſays, from the innocence of his life, of obtaining

* Our panegyriſt adds: *And as the moſt illuſtrious of their Patriots.*

" the

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He granted his mother, *Julia*, the life of her brother, *L. Cæſar*; to his friend, *Calenus*, that of the learned *Varro*; and wrote with his own hand to *Atticus*, who had concealed himſelf, with his friend, *Q. Gallius Canus*, that both he and his friend were ſafe, and, by his orders, both blotted out of the liſt of the proſcribed [f]. *Lepidus*,

" the honour and title of *a Saint*." This aſſertion his ingenious and zealous panegyriſt proves, at length, from *Cicero*'s writings, which contain certainly the nobleſt principles of morality, and an eloquent expoſition of all the duties of man. But his *moral* character muſt be ſhewn from his practice, from his actions, and the motives of his actions, not from theory and leſſons of morality: And theſe actions, with their ſprings, having been laid before the reader in the foregoing pages, we ſhall leave him to pronounce concerning it.

[f] If theſe facts are true, and *Antony* was not of a cruel diſpoſition, as we are told by *Plutarch*, how can we then give credit to the moſt inhuman facts related of him by this ſame *Plutarch* and other authors? We are told, that, in all this ſcene of miſery, he gave himſelf up to all the exceſſes of debauchery imaginable, that his houſe was filled with buffoons and players, and that he ſquandered away, amongſt the vileſt of mankind, the price of the blood of the moſt illuſtrious citizens. *Nonius*, it is ſaid, was put to death, becauſe he would not part with a fine *opal*; the famous *Verres*, becauſe he would not give up two *Corinthian* vaſes: One *Fiduſtius* was wantonly killed, becauſe he had been proſcribed by *Sylla*: *Atilius*, a boy, very rich, had the *toga virilis* put on him, and was immediately proſcribed: *Fulvia* was ſuffered to plunder and deſtroy whom ſhe pleaſed: A head of a Senator, called, by *Valerius Maximus*, *Cæſetius Rufus*, being brought to *Antony*, when at table, he examined it with attention, then told the bearers, *I know him not: This is an affair of my wife's.* This man had refuſed to lett his houſe to *Fulvia*, and, leſt *Rome* ſhould miſtake the cauſe of his death, his head, it is ſaid, was fixed upon the houſe, and

Y. R 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

Lepidus, on his ſide, ſuffered his brother, *L. Paulus*, to eſcape, who went to *Brutus*'s camp, and, after the battle of *Philippi*, might have returned to *Rome*, but choſe to paſs the remainder of his days at *Miletum*: And *Meſſala*, though in *Brutus*'s camp, was declared free from all proſecution by proclamation, in which it was ſaid: *As the relations of Meſſala have certified to us, that he was not in Rome at the time that* CÆSAR *was killed, we eraſe his name out of the liſt of the proſcribed.* As to *Octavius*, *Suetonius* tells us, that, though he oppoſed the proſcription at firſt, yet he ſhewed himſelf more cruel and bloody in urging it afterwards, than either of the other two; and relates, upon the authority of one *Junius Saturninus*, that, after the proſcription was over, when *Lepidus* made an apology to the Senate for their proceedings, and gave hopes of a more gentle adminiſtration for the future, young *Cæſar*, on his ſide, declared, that he ſhould ſet no bounds to the proſcription but his pleaſure, and ſtill reſerved to himſelf the liberty of puniſhing ſuch as were guilty. But theſe accounts, though adopted by all modern authors, are not ſupported by any authentic or probable facts[g].

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and not in the Forum. Theſe facts are altogether incredible, as well as her behaviour towards *Cicero*'s head, which, ſome hiſtorians tell us, was ſent to her by *Antony*, before he fixed it upon the Roſtra; and that this fair Lady placed it upon her knees, loaded it with reproaches, ſpit upon it, opened the mouth and pulled out the tongue, which ſhe pierced a thouſand times with her bodkin.

[g] He is accuſed of having proſcribed *C. Toranius*, formerly his

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ.

The greateſt number of the proſcribed found means to eſcape, and they fled either into *Macedonia* to *Brutus*, or into *Africa* to *Cornificius*, or to young *Pompey*, who, having been appointed Commander-general of the ſeas by the Senate, had, under this title, aſſembled a conſiderable force, and made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of *Sicily*: And who, at this time, ſtationed ſmall veſſels all along the coaſt, to carry the proſcribed from the cruelty of the Triumvirs.

his tutor and his father's collegue in the ædileſhip. We hear, however, of no other inſtance of his cruelty at this time. But, before the triumvirate, *Suetonius* indeed, *Aug.* 27, lays an atrocious act to his charge: He ſays, that *Q. Gallius*, Prætor of the city, when he came to wait upon him, had unfortunately under his robe a double tablet *(duplices tabulas)* a ſort of pocket-book, which *Octavius* judged to be a poniard; upon which ſuſpicion, not venturing to make ſearch, *leſt it ſhould be found to be ſomething elſe*, he ordered him to be carried off by his guards and put to the torture, as if he had been a ſlave: And, becauſe the Prætor would not own that he had a deſign to kill him, *Octavius* pulled out his eyes with his own hands, and ordered him to be executed. However, *Suetonius* has informed us that *Octavius* did not own the fact, and in his Memoirs told a quite different ſtory: That *Gallius* deſired a private conference with him, with a view of murdering him; for which reaſon he put him in priſon, but afterwards baniſhed him the city; and that he periſhed either in a ſtorm at ſea, or by the hands of robbers. Such is the evidence of *Octavius*'s ſingular cruelty. *Plutarch* moraliſes at length upon the unnatural bargain made by the Triumvirs, when *Antony* conſented to give up his uncle, and *Lepidus*, his brother, to the vengeance of young *Cæſar*, in exchange for *Cicero*. If that was the caſe, why did not this cruel monſter, *Octavius*, inſiſt upon the execution of this part of the treaty, after his friend had fallen the victim of it?

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The Triumvirs, having taken vengeance of their enemies in *Rome* and *Italy*, began now to think of levying the money neceſſary to carry on the war againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*: And they are accuſed of having put in practice every method of extortion, and of having ſeized upon the treaſures depoſited in the hands of the Veſtal Virgins; yet, the ſums emaſſed not being ſufficient, they deviſed a new tax never known before. This ſingular expedient was a tax upon women. They drew up a liſt of 1400 Ladies of *Rome*, mothers, daughters or relations of their enemies: Theſe alliances were far enough fetched, for riches alone were ſufficient to make them guilty in this caſe. Theſe were ordered to make a declaration of their eſtates, in order to be taxed as ſhould be thought proper. *Appian* tells us that the Ladies aſſembled on this occaſion, and went in a body to the female relations of the Triumvirs; and that they were well received by *Octavia*, ſiſter to young *Octavius*; and by *Julia*, *Antony*'s mother; but were not admitted by the haughty *Fulvia*, his wife. And that, upon this, they went to the Forum, and, both people and ſoldiers making way for them, they advanced to the tribunal of the Triumvirs, where *Hortenſia*, the daughter of the famous Orator, made a ſpeech, in the name of all the reſt, to this effect:

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

"My Lords, theſe unhappy Ladies, whom you "ſee here imploring your juſtice and bounty, "would never have preſumed to appear in this "place, had they not firſt made uſe of all poſſi- "ble means, which either their native modeſty

Echard, B. iii. ch. 4. *Appian.*

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

"might allow, or their beſt underſtandings "could inform them of. Though our appear- "ing here may ſeem contrary to the rules of "decency preſcribed to our ſex, which we have "hitherto moſt ſtrictly obſerved, yet the loſs of "our fathers, our children, of our brothers and "our huſbands, is ſufficient to excuſe us; nay, "and to vindicate us too, when their unhappy "deaths are made a pretence for our further "misfortunes. You pretend you have been af- "fronted, but what have the women done that "they muſt be impoveriſhed? If they are as "blameable as the men, why don't you proſcribe "them too? Certainly none of our ſex have ever "declared you your country's enemies: We have "neither plundered your goods, nor ſuborned "your ſoldiers: We have raiſed no troops againſt "you, nor oppoſed thoſe honours and offices to "which you pretend. We preſume not to go- "vern the Republic, nor is it our ambition which "has drawn the preſent miſeries and misfortunes "on our heads; empire, dignities, and honours "were never deſigned for our ſex. We, alas! "have done nothing to affront you, nothing to "offend you, nor any thing to move you to this "ſevere treatment of us. But you tell us that "you have a war to ſupport. And when have "mankind been free from war? And yet have "women ever been taxed on that account? The "univerſal conſent of nations has confirmed an "exception in their favour, which nature herſelf "has granted us. Formerly, indeed, the *Roman* "women, in the extreme exigency of the Re-

public,

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

"public, when in danger of becoming a prey "to the *Carthaginians*, contributed towards the "expences of the State, but they did it volun- "tarily: That which they gave was not levied "upon their eſtates, dowries, and houſes; they "only appropriated to it the ornaments of their "perſons: Nor were they ſubject to any eſti- "mation, or informations of accuſers. What is "then the danger which you apprehend at pre- "ſent? Do the *Gauls* or *Parthians* invade *Italy*? "In that caſe you will find us no leſs generous "than our mothers; but think not that we will "contribute our eſtates to maintain civil wars, "and enable you to deſtroy one another. Such "a demand was never made either by *Cæſar* or "*Pompey*, in their wars; nor by *Marius* and "*Cinna*, during their cruelties; no, not by *Sylla* "himſelf, who firſt ſet up tyranny in *Rome*: "Yet, after all, you adorn yourſelves with the "glorious title of Reformers of the State [h]." This diſcourſe appeared ſo bold and dangerous to the Triumvirs, that they immediately ſent their Lictors to cauſe the Ladies to retire; but, perceiving that the multitude began to cry out againſt ſuch violence, they promiſed to re-conſi- der the affair, and afterwards drew up another liſt of 400 women, inſtead of 1400; but, to make

[h] Hortenſia, Q. Hortenſii filia, cùm ordo matronarum gravi tributo à triumviris eſſet oneratus, nec quiſquam viro- rum patrocinium eis accommodare auderet; cauſam fœmi- narum apud Triumviros conſtanter et feliciter regit. Re- præſentata enim patris fa cundia impetravit, ut major pars imperatæ pecuniæ his remitteretur. *Val. Max.* l. viii. c. 3.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

good the ſum they wanted, they taxed all the citizens and foreigners, without diſtinction, who were worth one hundred thouſand drachmas, or upwards of 3200 pounds ſterling.

During all this confuſion, *Lepidus* and *Plancus* obtained a decree for a triumph on account of ſome inconſiderable ſucceſs in *Gaul*; and, while the city was in the greateſt conſternation, they calmly iſſued out proclamations for public rejoicings. *Plancus* triumphed the *29th of December*, and *Lepidus* on the *31ſt*. The ſoldiers ſung in the proceſſion this line, *De Germanis, nonde Gallis, duo triumphant Conſules:* ſignifying very properly that their triumph was rather over their *germani*, or brothers, than over the *Gauls*.

Octavius reſigned, as had been agreed, the conſular faſces, before the end of the year, in favour of *Ventidius*, who had *C. Corinnas* for his collegue, in the room of *Pedius*. They enjoyed them only a part of the month of *December*, and they were transferred for the following year to *Lepidus* and *Plancus*.

In order to gratify the ambition of more of their friends, the Triumvirs not only named one of the ædiles to the vacant prætorſhip of *Ventidius*, but made all the other Prætors reſign five days before the expiration of their office, that others might be named in their places, and enjoy the title and rank of antient Prætors. In fine, they appointed magiſtrates for ſeveral years; by which means they confirmed their power, by putting, for a long time, all the magiſtracies in the hands of thoſe who were attached

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ed to them and intereſted in the ſupport of their government. On the 1*ſt* of *January*, the Triumvirs ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve the acts of *Cæſar*, and made all the magiſtrates take the ſame oath.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

ELEVENTH BOOK.

From the Eſtabliſhment of the SECOND TRIUMVIRATE to the Settlement of the Empire on OCTAVIUS.

CHAP. I.

BRUTUS *and* CASSIUS *reduce the* Lycians *and* Rhodians, *and march their armies into* Macedonia. ANTONY *and* OCTAVIUS *carry over their legions into the ſame province. The firſt battle of* Philippi, *and the death of* CASSIUS. *The ſecond battle of* Philippi, *and the death of* BRUTUS. *The* TRIUMVIRS *make a new diviſion of the Empire.*

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II.
L. MUNACIUS PLANCUS, } Conſuls.

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

BRUTUS and *Caſſius* were now maſters of all the Eaſtern provinces, where they had made great exactions, and raiſed an army of 19 le-

legions and 20,000 horſe: And the latter was preparing for an expedition into *Egypt* againſt *Cleopatra*, when he was recalled by *Brutus*, upon the news that *Antony* and *Octavius* had joined their forces. *Caſſius*, therefore, leaving *Syria* to his brother's ſon with one ſingle legion, marched into leſſer *Aſia*, and met *Brutus* at *Smyrna*, where they conſulted about the conduct of the war. *Brutus* moved to have the armies paſs into *Greece* and *Macedonia* immediately, and there wait for *Octavius* and *Antony*; but to *Caſſius* it appeared the wiſer meaſure to reduce the *Rhodians* and *Lycians*; who had refuſed to pay any contributions, and were powerful at ſea. It ſeemed to him of the moſt dangerous conſequence to leave ſuch conſiderable enemies behind them; and this expedition, accordingly, was entered upon without delay, and in a ſhort time, completed. The *Rhodians* were ſeverely plundered by *Caſſius*, and ſcarce any thing, beſide their lives, was left them; but the unfortunate *Lycians*, who had to do with the mild and humane philoſopher, *Brutus*, fared much worſe. *Xanthus*, their capital town, was burnt to the ground, and all the inhabitants deſtroyed. Thoſe who ſurrendered at diſcretion he deprived of all their public and private money. After theſe military operations[1], the two

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 42. 410 Conſ.

[1] *Plutarch* tells us that the deſtruction of the inhabitants of *Xanthus* happened againſt the will and earneſt endeavours of *Brutus*, and was entirely owing to an unaccountable fury and frenzy with which they were ſeized, which made them ſet fire to their own houſes and deſtroy one another: But the contrary

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

Commanders met again at *Sardis*, and were there proclaimed *Emperors* by their two armies [k], and ſoon

trary is owned in the following letter of *Brutus* to the *Rhodians*: *Xanthios, cum à nobis defeciſſent, extremo ſupplicio affecimus. Nam uſque ad parvulos omnibus cæſis, eorum urbem igne & ferro diruimus. Patarenſibus, quia fidi nobis extiterant, tributa relaxavimus ac liberos & ſui juris eſſe conceſſimus. Atque pro reſtauratione eorum, quæ demolita erant, quinquaginta talenta dono dedimus. Liceat & vobis conſulere ac videre, utrum vos pro hoſtibus quemadmodum Xanthiis, an pro amicis ceu Patareni, haberi velitis.* And this letter *Plutarch* himſelf has cited, but in fewer words: *Xanthii beneficium meum deſpicientes, deſperationis ſuæ habuerunt patrium ſepulchrum. Patarenſes qui ſe in fidem meam contulerunt, nuſquam deſiderant in adminiſtrandis rebus ſuis libertatem. Itaque licet vobis quoque vel Patarenſium judicium vel fortunam legere Xanthiorum.* *Velleius Paterculus* tells us, that *Caſſius* behaved with greater moderation than *Brutus*: *Dum ea in Italia geruntur, acri ac proſperrimo bello Caſſius Rhoum, rem immanis operis, ceperat; Brutus Lycios devicerat . . . . cum per omnia repugnans naturæ ſuæ Caſſius, etiam Bruti clementiam vinceret.* Vell. Pat. ii. 69.

[k] Here it was that *Brutus* is reported to have ſeen a ghoſt in his tent. He ever employed, ſays *Plutarch*, the greateſt part of the night in diſpatching of affairs and reading; and one night, being thus employed, when there was a general ſilence in the camp, and eſpecially about his tent, of a ſudden he heard an unuſual noiſe at the door, which opened at the ſame time. *Brutus*, caſting his eye towards the place, perceived the frightful picture of a hideous ſpectre, of a proportion much more than natural, which preſented itſelf before him: He had, notwithſtanding, the courage to ſpeak to it, demanding, *Art thou a god, or art thou a man, and for what reaſon comeſt thou hither? I am*, replied the ſpirit, *thy evil genius, and thou ſhalt ſee me again near Philippi.* *Brutus* anſwered, *Well, I will ſee thee:* And immediately it diſappeared. He preſently called up his ſlaves, who all told him, *that they had neither ſeen nor heard any thing.* He continued walking all the reſt of the night, and, early in the morning, went

to

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 41o Conſ.

ſoon paſſed over into *Thrace* and *Macedonia*; whither the Triumvirs had ſent two Lieutenants, *Decidius Saxa* and *Norbanus*, with eight legions, while they themſelves made a fruitleſs attempt to drive *Sextus* out of *Sicily*: For they foreſaw he would be a thorn in their ſide, and, in concert with the fleets commanded by *Murcus* and *Domitius*, interrupt their communication with *Italy* and the other tranſmarine provinces.

Decidius and *Norbanus* marched their troops through *Epirus* and *Macedonia* beyond *Philippi*, and encamped at the entry of a narrow paſs formed by two mountains, being the only commodious way from the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace* into *Macedonia*: They had then behind them *Philippi*, and upon the right, towards the ſea, *Neapolis*, a ſea-port town ſituated over-againſt the iſland of *Thaſos*: And here they intended to wait the arrival of their Generals. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* would have found it difficult to force the paſſage, if *Rhaſcupolis*, a *Thracian* Chieftain in their camp, had not led them over the mountains by a particular way, which had been judged impracticable by the enemy. *Bibulus*, ſon-in-

to give an account of what had happened to *Caſſius*, who, being an *Epicurean*, told him, *that all this proceeded from the weakneſs of his ſenſes, and the ſtrength of his imagination at that time. However*, continued he, *let us not believe that there are any ſuch ſpirits, that have either voice, human ſhape, or power over us; though I could wiſh there were, that we might not only rely upon the greatneſs of our forces, but likewiſe upon the aſſiſtance of thoſe immortal beings, who could not but be favourable to a cauſe ſo juſt and ſacred as ours is.* *Plutarch* tells us, that the ſame ſpirit appeared again before the battle of *Philippi*.

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Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 710 Conſ.

law to *Brutus*, commanded the detachment, and took with him proviſions and water for three days; and, after incredible fatigues, when the ſoldiers began to murmur, and to ſuſpect *Rhaſcupolis* of treachery, at laſt, on the fourth day, they had a view of the plain and the river, and, upon this ſight, they raiſed a ſhout of joy, which gave notice of their approach to the two Lieutenants, who otherwiſe would have been ſurrounded unawares. *Saxa* and *Norbanus* immediately retired to *Amphipolis*, which they fortified with great diſpatch. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* marched on beyond *Philippi*, and encamped upon a riſing ground not far from the town: Behind them was the ſea, which furniſhed them with all kinds of proviſions: The iſland of *Thaſos* which was at twelve miles diſtance ſerved them for a general magazine; and, at the diſtance of nine miles, was the town of *Neapolis*, which afforded them a ſecure port for their fleet. *Antony* ſoon came up with them: For, upon the firſt news of the retreat of his Lieutenants, fearing leſt he ſhould loſe *Amphipolis*, he had made forced marches and arrived ſooner than he was expected. He had the ſatisfaction to find not only his Lieutenants maſters of *Amphipolis*, but the town well-fortified. He there depoſited all his baggage, leaving a legion to defend it: While, with the reſt of his troops, he advanced, and, following the example, which *Cæſar* had ſhewn him in all his wars, of approaching as near as poſſible to an enemy, he encamped at only a mile's diſtance. Here he was joined a few days after by *Octavius*. Their combined

bined armies conſiſted of nineteen legions, compoſed chiefly of *Cæſar*'s old ſoldiers, and not only complete as to their number, but augmented by a great many ſupernumeraries. Thus their infantry amounted to one hundred thouſand men, but their cavalry, conſiſting only of thirteen thouſand, was leſs numerous than that of the enemy. They were much ſtreightened for proviſions, having only *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly* open to them; *Sextus Pompey* cutting off from them all communication with *Africa*, and *Murcus* and *Domitius* with *Italy*. This made *Antony* extremely deſirous of coming to a battle; but *Caſſius*, being ſenſible of his motive, refuſed to engage him, and reſtrained the impatience of his ſanguine collegue. At laſt *Antony*, with great labour and induſtry, made a way through a large fen, and raiſed ſome forts oppoſite to the enemy's camp. *Caſſius*, on his ſide, formed lines and threw up works againſt him: And in this ſituation, ſays *Appian*, the forwardneſs of the two armies, who were near to each other, drew on a general action, though much againſt *Caſſius*'s will, who declared, *that he was forced, in the ſame manner that Pompey had been, to expoſe the liberty of the Roman people to the hazard of a battle.* A different ſtory is related by *Plutarch*. He tells us, that *Caſſius*, overcome by the importunity of his collegue and the reſt of his officers, unwillingly conſented to give battle. According to the ſame hiſtorian, *Caſſius*, before the general engagement, aſked *Brutus*'s opinion concerning what they ought to do, if they ſhould happen to

A. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 41. 41o Conſ.

be

U. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

be unſucceſsful, and *Brutus* anſwered: *That he had formerly, in his writings, condemned the death of Cato, and maintained that ſuch a manner of avoiding diſgrace was an inſult upon the gods, and unworthy of a man of courage; but that he had now changed his opinion, and was reſolved to lay down that life, which he had already ſacrificed to his country on the ides of March, and to change it for a happier one, if fortune proved his enemy. We may then venture to engage the enemy,* replied *Caſſius*, embracing him; *for either we will be Conquerors ourſelves, or have no cauſe to fear thoſe who are ſo.*

The forces of the Triumvirs were commanded by *Antony* alone; *Octavius* not being recovered of the illneſs with which he had been ſeized before he left *Italy*: And, both armies being drawn up, *Brutus*'s men attacked thoſe of *Octavius* with little order, but with ſo much fury, that, at the firſt onſet, they overthrew all that oppoſed them, and, preſſing forward with great ſlaughter, they entered the very camp of *Octavius*, who had juſt before retired to that of his collegue. *Antony* was, on his ſide, very hotly engaged with *Caſſius*, but, in a ſhort time, found means to open a paſſage through the lines, and, charging *Caſſius*'s troops upon the flank, totally routed them; then, purſuing the victory, he ſoon became maſter of his camp. *Caſſius*, having laboured in vain to rally his ſoldiers, retired to a hill not far off, expecting the event of the battle on his partner's ſide. Whence, deſcrying a body of cavalry making towards him, he ſent *Titinius* to diſcover whether they were friends

Vell. Pat. ii. 70. Plut. in Brut.

friends or enemies. *Titinius* was received with great joy into the ranks, and, inſtead of riding back directly, marched on with the body of horſe towards his General, who, not doubting but that *Brutus* had been routed, and that his friend *Titinius* was taken priſoner, cried out, *Alas! to preſerve the remainder of a miſerable life, I have ruined my beſt friend!* And inſtantly, retiring into his tent, killed himſelf. *Titinius* arrived ſoon after with the cavalry, all rejoicing: But their joy was ſuddenly daſhed; and *Titinius*, accuſing himſelf of being the cauſe of ſo terrible a misfortune by his imprudence, in great deſpair, ſlew himſelf upon the body of his friend. Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

Brutus was very ſenſible of his loſs by the death of his companion, whom he called the laſt of the *Romans*, and cauſed his body to be privately removed to the iſland of *Thaſos*, leſt the ſight of it ſhould make a bad impreſſion on the minds of the ſoldiers; and though, according to the report of *Meſſala*, his party had loſt but 8000 men, while the enemy had loſt 16,000, yet he kept for twenty days within his intrenchments, refuſing to accept the battle which *Antony* offered him. We are told he hoped to ſtarve his enemies, who were now in extreme want of proviſions, and whoſe fleet had been lately totally defeated; a circumſtance *Brutus* was ignorant of ſeveral days after it was known in *Antony*'s camp; which intimates that few or none deſerted from the *Triumvirs* to him. And *Plutarch*, who is ſo laviſh in his praiſes, relates, that he was obliged to put to death all the ſlaves he had made priſoners Plut. in Brut.

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 711 Conſ.

ſoners in the late battle, and diſmiſs the reſt, leſt they ſhould debauch his army: And that he found it neceſſary alſo to promiſe his ſoldiers a donative of 2000 drachma's a man, together with the plunder of *Theſſalonica* and *Lacedæmon*, two of the wealthieſt cities in thoſe parts, in order to raiſe their courage. At laſt, ſeveral of his officers having left his camp to join his enemies, the fear of a general deſertion determined him to put all to the deciſion of a ſecond battle. We are told, that the eagerneſs of the ſoldiers was ſuch on *both* ſides, that they betook themſelves immediately to their ſwords, fighting with great fury, till, after much bloodſhed, *Brutus*'s party was borne down by main force, and intirely defeated. *Brutus* himſelf fled to a neighbouring hill [1], and there remained all night. When, in the morning, he ſaw all was loſt, he cried out

[1] *Plutarch* tells us, that he ran a great riſk of being taken; that, being purſued cloſely by a troop of *Thracians*, *Lucilius*, a friend of his, delivered himſelf up to them, telling them, that he was *Brutus*: Upon which he was immediately conducted to *Antony*. When, in his preſence, he owned, that, to ſave his General, he had deceived the ſoldiers; and was ready to atone, by his ſufferings, for the offence. The *Thracians* were filled with indignation. *Be not troubled*, ſaid *Antony*, *at the miſtake; you have taken a much better prize. You wanted to take an enemy, and you have brought me a friend, I take all the gods to witneſs, that I ſhould have been very much perplexed how to behave to Brutus. But men, ſuch as Lucilius, I love much better to have for my friends than my enemies.* *Plutarch*, according to his cuſtom, in order to lengthen out this laſt ſcene of *Brutus*'s life, and make it more intereſting, has collected a great many particularities too minute to find a place in this general hiſtory.

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in the words of an ancient poet, *O unhappy Virtue, I follow thee as a ſolid good, but thou art only a mere notion, a vain empty name, or, at beſt, a ſlave of fortune.* Yet ſhortly after he told ſome of his friends, *that he looked upon himſelf as much happier than any of his Conquerors, ſince he ſhould enjoy that reputation which always follows virtue, and which tyranny and injuſtice could never deſerve.* Then, going aſide with a particular friend, called *Strato*, he with great earneſtneſs begged of him to do him the laſt office of a friend; and, ſeeing him very unwilling to perform ſo hard a duty, he called for a ſlave: *Ah then*, cried *Strato*, *it ſhall never be ſaid, that the great Brutus ſtood in need of a ſlave for want of a friend:* So, turning away his head, he preſented the point of his ſword to *Brutus*, who threw himſelf upon it and immediately expired. Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 42. 410 Conſ.

Thus fell theſe two famous champions for liberty, called the *laſt of the Romans:* Deſerted at once by fortune with the ſame precipitation, with which ſhe had given them the command of half the Empire. *Caſſius*, who profeſſed the *Epicurean* philoſophy, left behind him no reputation for virtue; and it was every one's opinion that he hated the tyrant more than tyranny, and had intereſted and private views in the aſſaſſination of *Cæſar*. *Brutus* was, by his birth, his alliances, his connections, his riches, the head of the young nobility: And he was reverenced in his life and after his death, for the gravity of his manners, his extenſive learning, his eloquence, his capacity; but, if we attend to facts, we ſhall find his glory greatly

U.R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

ly ſullied by many inſtances of avarice, of pride, and of cruelty, which are even reported by his panegyriſts, *Cicero* and *Plutarch*. A very ingenious and celebrated writer thinks that theſe two Generals killed themſelves with a haſte not to be vindicated; and that it is impoſſible to read this period of their lives without *pitying the Republic which was ſo abandoned*. When one conſiders, however, how very indifferent the provinces were in all theſe quarrels; how heartily they deteſted the Generals whom they had been forced to ſupply with money; and that the ſoldiers were all engaged to them againſt their will, or allured by immenſe liberalities, and greater promiſes; it is plain that their defeat was irreparable, and that they had no other place to fly to but *Sicily*, which was ſtill held by young *Pompey*, whither the Triumvirs would have followed them with all their forces.

Monteſquieu, Grandeur des Romains.

All ſuch as had any ſhare in *Cæſar*'s death ſlew themſelves with their own hands, but the reſt rallying, to the number of 14,000, under the conduct of *Meſſala* and *Bibulus*, ſent deputies to the *Triumvirs* for an honourable compoſition, which the two Generals readily granted. *M. Cicero*, with ſome other perſons of diſtinction, eſcaped to the iſland of *Thaſos*, where they went on board a ſquadron commanded by *Caſſius* of *Parma*, which ſailed to the *Ionian* ſea, and joined the fleets of *Statius Murcus* and *Domitius Ahenobarbus*. The firſt of theſe Commanders declared his reſolution to conduct his fleet to

Sextus

Sextus Pompey, which he ſoon executed: But *Domitius* choſe to act an independent part. Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

The Triumvirs employed themſelves for ſome days after their victory in puniſhing their enemies. *Antony* ſacrificed *Hortenſius* to the manes of his brother *Caius*, and put to death alſo ſome others: *Cato*'s ſon, *Varro*, and *Lucullus* are mentioned by *Paterculus*. *Livius Druſus*, the father of that *Livia*, who was afterwards married to *Octavius*, killed himſelf in his tent; and *Quintilius Varus*, adorned with all the marks of thoſe honours he had borne, cauſed himſelf to be ſlain by one of his freedmen. *Suetonius* tells us that *Octavius*, who had but a ſmall ſhare in the victory, behaved with great cruelty and inſolence to the vanquiſhed, that he ſent the head of *Brutus* to be thrown at the pedeſtal of *Cæſar*'s ſtatue in *Rome*, and treated the moſt illuſtrious *Romans* with barbarity and abuſive language. To one, who humbly begged the favour of a burial, he anſwered, *that what he requeſted would ſoon be at the diſpoſal of the birds of prey.* A father and a ſon, who ſued for their lives, were ordered by him to caſt lots which of them ſhould live, or to determine it betwixt them by the ſword; but the father, refuſing to accept of ſuch a favour, delivered himſelf up to the executioner, and the ſon ſtabbed himſelf. His cruelty, it is ſaid, was ſo exceſſive, that, when the priſoners were produced before him, loaded with chains, all of them, and particularly *M. Favonius*, reproached him

Vell. Pat. 71.

Suet. in Aug. 13.

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

with it, while they ſaluted *Antony* with reſpect by the title of *Imperator* [m].

The two Generals, having ſatiated their revenge, made a new diviſion of the provinces of the Empire, by which the feeble *Lepidus* was ſpoiled of all, excepting the province of *Africa*, properly ſo called. *Octavius* got *Spain* and *Numidia: Antony* all *Tranſalpine Gaul*, with that part of *Africa* which *Cornificius* poſſeſſed. *Ciſalpine Gaul* was incorporated into *Italy*, which they all pretended to defend by their arms, and to which, as their common country, they had a right to return with their legions. At the ſame time *Antony* undertook to go into the Eaſtern provinces to raiſe money for the ſoldiers rewards; and *Octavius* took upon him to lead the old troops into *Italy*, and put them in poſſeſſion of the lands

[m] Nothing ſhews more plainly how little we can depend upon the truth of theſe particularities related by the old hiſtorians, than the account they have given us of the death of *Portia*. They ſay that this Lady, upon the news of her huſband's unhappy fate, reſolved not to ſurvive him; and that, by the care of her relations and friends, all inſtruments of death being removed out of her way, ſhe deſtroyed herſelf by ſwallowing burning coals. Now it is almoſt certain ſhe died of a lingering diſeaſe before the battle of *Philippi*. For *Plutarch* himſelf mentions a letter of *Brutus* extant in his days, of the authenticity of which, indeed, he entertained ſome doubt, in which he lamented her death, and complained of his friends for neglecting her in her laſt ſickneſs. Certain, however, it is, as Dr. *Middleton* obſerves, that, in a letter to *Atticus*, he ſpeaks of *Portia*'s indiſpoſition, and that there is a letter of condolence to him from *Cicero*, which can hardly be applied to any other occaſion but that of her death. See *Ep.* ix. *ad Brut.*

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that were promiſed them. *Antony*'s commiſſion aſſured him immenſe wealth, and was the more brilliant of the two; but that of *Octavius* gave him all power in *Italy*, and ſecured to him the affection of the veterans, who were to receive from him the long-wiſhed for recompence of their ſervices.

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 41o Conf.

CHAP. II.

ANTONY's *progreſs through* Greece *and* Aſia. CLEOPATRA's *magnificence. She obtains of* ANTONY *all her requeſts, and is followed by him into* Egypt. OCTAVIUS's *behaviour in* Italy: *He is croſſed in his operations by* Fulvia *and* L. Antonius, *who raiſe a civil commotion: He forces* L. Antonius *to ſurrender himſelf at diſcretion in* Peruſium, *and his enemies to leave* Italy.

ANTONY firſt viſited *Greece*, where he frequented the conferences of the philoſophers; was initiated into the myſteries at *Athens*; made great preſents to that and other cities; courted the *Græcians* in every manner, and was repaid with the moſt refined flattery. Then, leaving *Cenſorinus* to command in that country, he paſſed over into *Aſia*, with all his troops, conſiſting of eight legions. There all the Princes of the Eaſt, who acknowledged the *Roman* power, came to make their court to him; and the faireſt Princeſſes ſtrove to gain his favour, either by the charms of their beauty, or the magnificence of their preſents. This croud of Sovereigns, which daily waited in his antichamber with their praiſes and ſubmiſſions, did moſt

Plut. in Anton. Appian, p. 673.

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 41o Conſ.

agreeably ſoothe his voluptuous and ambitious temper. He pardoned all thoſe of *Brutus*'s party, who here ſurrendered to him, except *Petronius*, who was one of the Conſpirators; and *Quintus*, who was charged with having betrayed *Dolabella* to *Caſſius* in *Laodicea*. But then he took away the eſtates of ſeveral wealthy citizens to inrich his flatterers and buffoons; and, aſſembling the deputies of all the ſubjects and allies of the *Romans* in thoſe parts, in a formal ſpeech he inſiſted upon his neceſſities and their duties, and ſqueezed out of the inhabitants almoſt all the money that had been left them by *Brutus* and

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Caſſius. After having raiſed two hundred thouſand talents, an immenſe ſum, he demanded ſtill new contributions; and all this money was preſently ſpent in the moſt extravagant luxury, and vaineſt prodigalities, ſo that the country was, at the ſame time, a theatre of mirth and miſery. *Strabo* atteſts, that a player was charged with gathering the tribute of four cities; and *Plutarch* relates, that a cook, who pleaſed his taſte, was recompenſed with the houſe and goods of a rich citizen of *Magneſia*. In his progreſs through the country, he frequently gave extraordinary demonſtrations of generoſity; particularly to the towns which had ſuffered for their attachment to *Dolabella*, and the *Cæſarean* cauſe. He made himſelf ſovereign Judge of the differences between the Kings of thoſe countries, as in *Cappadocia* between *Ariarathes* and *Syſenes*, for whom the beauty of his mother, *Glaphyra*, was ſo powerful

erful an advocate, as to carry the crown from his competitor. Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

But, among all thoſe Sovereigns of the Eaſt, who depended upon *Antony*, *Cleopatra* was the moſt diſtinguiſhed. She had ſent troops to the aſſiſtance of *Dolabella*, as has been related above, under the conduct of *Allienus*, who had been obliged to give them up to *Caſſius*: And ſhe had alſo ſent a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the Triumvirs which a ſtorm diſabled, but ſhe might have done more for the cauſe; and *Serapion*, her Lieutenant in *Cyprus*, had fought for *Caſſius*: *Antony*, therefore, when he was at *Tarſus*, cited her to his tribunal. She made no difficulty to obey his ſummons; and, conſcious of her power over men of *Antony*'s character, ſhe ſet out with an aſſurance of making a conqueſt of him. Never did any Princeſs appear in a manner ſo ſingular and magnificent. Arrived at the mouth of the river *Cydnus*, ſhe embarked in a veſſel, whoſe ſtern was of gold, the ſails of purple ſilk, and whoſe oars, covered with plates of ſilver, gently kept time to a concert of muſic. The Queen was laid under a canopy of rich cloth of gold, adorned like *Venus* riſing out of the ſea, with lovely children about her, like *Cupids*, fanning her; and her women were dreſſed like Nereids, leaning negligently on the ſides and ſhrouds of the veſſel. The ſweets of the perfumes that were burning reached the banks of the river, which were covered with an infinite number of people. *Antony*, who was mounted on a throne, to make a ſhew of majeſty, found

V.R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 41o Conſ.

himſelf deſerted by all his attendants: All ran to ſee ſuch an extraordinary ſight. He ſent to deſire her to land and ſup with him: but ſhe deſired his company firſt; a requeſt which he thought himſelf bound in civility to comply with. He was extremely ſurpriſed at the neatneſs and magnificence of the entertainment, with the ingenious diſpoſition of the lights and many other peculiar contrivances [n]. The next day, he, in his turn, would treat her, and endeavoured to ſurpaſs her in ſumptuouſneſs, but he ſoon perceived he was far ſhort of it; whereupon he turned all into mirth and raillery, which ſhe joined with, and carried on with all the delicacy and dexterity imaginable; till, at laſt, taking a more ſerious turn in her diſcourſes, ſhe told him, *that ſhe came not thither to clear herſelf, but to be recompenſed for the great ſervices ſhe had done to him and Octavius, in aſſiſting Dolabella; in*

[n] An ancient writer, quoted by *Athenæus*, iv. 11, has informed us, that ſhe repeated ſeveral times theſe entertainments, and always in a new taſte and with new ornaments; giving to *Antony* each time all the equipage and furniture of the feaſt, the veſſels of gold adorned with precious ſtones, and the tapeſtry and cloths of gold with which the walls and floor were covered. His friends alſo, it is ſaid, who were entertained at twelve different tables, divided the couches on which they had ſupped, and the veſſels of gold in which they had been ſerved: And, when they retired, ſhe made preſents, to the moſt diſtinguiſhed, of litters with men to carry them; or of horſes richly harneſſed; and to all, young *Ethiopian* ſlaves to carry torches before them. The ſame author relates, that, at the third entertainment, the floor of the hall was ſtrewed with roſes a cubit deep.

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Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

commanding a fleet in perſon againſt Caſſius and his Commanders, with many other things, which ſhe related with that artifice, that wit and inimitable grace, that *Antony* could no longer defend his heart; but, from that moment, entertained a paſſion for her which was the cauſe of all the future misfortunes of his life. The firſt uſe ſhe made of her power was to obtain an order for taking her ſiſter *Arſinoë* out of the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, and putting her to death: Another for ſeizing *Serapion* in the temple of *Hercules* at *Tyre*, by whoſe execution ſhe ſatisfied her vengeance, and juſtified herſelf towards *Antony* for the ſuccours ſent to *Caſſius*: A third to ſeize, in the iſland of *Aradus*, an impoſtor, who pretended to be that *Ptolemy*, *Cleopatra*'s brother, who had been vanquiſhed by *Cæſar*, and, according to the common report, had been drowned in the *Nile*. After having, in this manner, ſecured her power, ſhe ſet out for *Egypt*.

Antony entertained no longer any thoughts of marching againſt the *Parthians*. After a rapid progreſs through *Syria*, in which he haſtily decided the affairs referred to him; and a fruitleſs attempt to ſurpriſe and plunder the town of *Palmyra*; he ſent his forces into winter-quarters under the command of *Decidius Saxa*, and flew after *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*: Where he ſpent the whole following year in all the eaſe and ſoftneſs to which his vicious temper prompted him, and in all the delights and pleaſures which that luxurious nation could furniſh.

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 41o Conſ.

While *Antony* remained thus idle in *Egypt*, *Octavius* was buſy about ſettling the affairs of *Italy*, and dividing the lands for ſatisfying the veterans. This he found very difficult, and not a little dangerous, on account of the general odium it brought upon him; for it was abſolutely neceſſary either to give up the ſeveral towns allotted for their recompence, or to ſatisfy his ſoldiers with a proportionable quantity of money, which the exhauſted treaſury could not furniſh. Almoſt all the inhabitants of theſe towns came in great multitudes to *Rome*; vaſt numbers of women with children in their arms, whoſe tender years and innocence drew every one's compaſſion, daily filled the temples and public places with their lamentations: And the people of *Rome* talked very freely and boldly upon this account. Theſe complaints and murmurings *Octavius* bore with all the diſcretion imaginable; he firſt borrowed what money he could; but, finding that not ſufficient, he at laſt broke through all difficulties, and began to give his ſoldiers places and lands for their inheritance, as he firſt deſigned. This he was forced to by the inſolence of the ſoldiery, who were very ſenſible of the obligations and regard due to them from the *Triumvirs*. *Appian* has recorded two inſtances of their haughty behaviour, which ſhew how little authority *Octavius* poſſeſſed over them. One of the common ſoldiers, having had the aſſurance to ſeat himſelf, in the theatre, with the Knights, *Octavius* ordered him to be taken away, becauſe he perceived that the people were offended at it: This the ſoldiers

diers reſented, and, after the play, gathered about their General, and loudly called for their comrade, ſuſpecting that he had been puniſhed with death or impriſonment. The ſoldier ſoon appeared, and then they would have it that he had been juſt releaſed from priſon; which he denying, he was treated by them with contempt and indignation as a lyar and a traitor to his companions. At another time, when *Octavius* had appointed them a meeting in the field of *Mars*, for a diviſion of lands, they all aſſembled before it was light, and began to murmur at their General's tardineſs in making his appearance: And a Centurion, who reproved them for it, was affronted, purſued, and killed by them, and his body placed in *Octavius*'s way. *Octavius*, informed of their behaviour, went nevertheleſs to the field, and, ſeeing the body of the Centurion, turned unconcernedly from it: And, as if it had been the crime of ſome particular man, and an offence againſt themſelves, he exhorted them, for the future, to ſpare one another, and made his intended diviſion. Theſe two examples, ſays *Appian*, among many others, ſhew how difficult it is to govern the ſpirit of the ſoldiers, when the Generals are not commiſſioned to the command of their armies by lawful authority, and troops are levied, not for the ſervice of their country, but for the intereſt of private men, who are obliged to ſoothe them and depend more on the power of their largeſſes than on the fidelity of their adherents or the authority of the laws.

Y.R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

L. An-

L. ANTONIUS.
P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS II. } Conſuls.

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 40. 411 Conſ.

L. Antonius [o], brother to the Triumvir, was now Conſul with *P. Servilius Iſauricus* II. *Cicero* every-where repreſents *Lucius* as a vain, weak man; and *Dio* tells us, that he was entirely governed by *Fulvia*, *Antony*'s wife, who poſſeſſed all authority in *Rome*. This imperious Lady was greatly grieved to ſee her huſband deliver himſelf up firſt to *Glaphyra*, wife to *Archelaus*, Grand Pontiff of *Comana*; and afterwards to *Cleopatra*; and reſolved, by any means, to bring him home, which ſhe believed nothing but a war could effect [p]. Many plauſible pretexts were made uſe

[o] He triumphed the *firſt of January* for ſome trifling exploits in the *Alps*. *Velleius Paterculus* ſays of him: *Vitiorum fratris ſui conſors, ſed virtutum, quæ interdum in illo erant, expers.* L. ii. c. 74.

B. xi. 21.

[p] In an epigram of *Octavius* againſt *Fulvia*, preſerved by *Martial*, ſhe is accuſed of having ſollicited the young *Triumvir*, in order to avenge herſelf of the infidelity of *Antony*; a very improbable charge which the Abbé *de St. Real* inſiſts much upon, as well as ſeveral other authors. "Octave, ſays this writer, "qui n'aimoit que par politique, & "dont on a dit qu'il n'eut jamais d'autres amours, que "celles que ſon interêt ou ſon ambition lui inſpirerent," [Certainly neither his intereſt nor ambition were concerned in his ſtrong and laſting attachment for *Livia*] "ne voulut "point etouffer dans ſa naiſſance une guerre formidable, qu' "il auroit pu terminer en paroiſſant moins cruel a une *jeune* "& *belle* perſonne. Conſid. ſur Antoine." I don't know whether *Fulvia* was a *belle perſonne*, but certainly the widow of *Clodius*, who died above twelve years before, and whoſe daughter was actually married to *Octavius*, could not be a very *jeune perſonne*.

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of by her to produce a breach between *Antony* and *Octavius*, and theſe ſhe eaſily found in the preſent unſettled and troubleſome times. *Octavius*, upon the firſt marks of her ill-will, ſent her daughter back to her, aſſuring her, at the ſame time, that ſhe was a virgin. In concert with *L. Antonius*, ſhe laboured to unite the citizens, who had been turned out of their poſſeſſions, and the ſoldiers, againſt *Octavius*: They received, therefore, on one hand, the complaints of the oppreſſed and promiſed them *Antony*'s protection: And, on the other, they publicly declared, that the confiſcated goods of the proſcribed, and the money raiſed by *Antony* in the Eaſtern provinces, were ſufficient to pay off the rewards due to the ſoldiers. They inveighed alſo againſt the triumviral power, and gave it out that *Antony* was ready to reſtore the ancient government; and their conduct ſeems to have been extremely well calculated to gain the affections of the people. They began by demanding of *Octavius* to divide the charge of eſtabliſhing the veterans in the colonies, ſo that he might regulate whatever concerned his own ſoldiers, and they what concerned thoſe of *Antony*. *Octavius* alledged, in oppoſition to this, the authority of the convention made with his collegue; whereby it was ſtipulated that the direction of this whole affair ſhould be left entirely to him. The young Triumvir found himſelf in very difficult circumſtances. He had incurred the odium of all *Italy*; he had the coaſts to defend againſt the fleets of *Pompey* and *Domitius*; and it was incumbent on him to procure

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 40. 411 Conſ.

Vell. Pat. ii. 74.

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 40. 411 Conſ.

cure corn for the people and ſoldiers, which was now very ſcarce, as almoſt all the paſſages by ſea were ſtopped up by his enemies, and the produce of the land was conſumed by the return of ſo many legions into *Italy*. Diſorders were committed every day in the city, ſo that all trading was ruined and moſt of the ſhops ſhut up: *Ventidius*, *Pollio*, *Calenus*, *Plancus*, and others, commanded ſeveral ſmall armies in different parts of the country; *Lucius Antony* himſelf had raiſed a conſiderable force: And *M. Antony* was in great favour with the ſoldiers, who much eſteemed him for his bravery, and loved him for his generoſity. *Octavius* reſolved, therefore, if poſſible, to avoid a rupture, and ſeems to have conſented to the demands of *Fulvia* and *L. Antonius*. The latter, taking *Antony*'s children with him, went a progreſs through the ſouthern part of *Italy*: But, upon a quick motion of *Octavius*'s cavalry to the coaſt of the *Bruttii*, in order to hinder *Pompey* from landing there, he fled precipitately to *Antony*'s colonies, and put himſelf and his nephews under their protection; accuſing *Octavius* of infidelity towards his collegue. *Octavius*, on the contrary, ſent to acquaint them, that there was no ſhadow of change in the friendſhip betwixt him and *Antony*, but that *Lucius* ſought a pretence to make them arm againſt each other, becauſe he was an enemy to the triumvirate, in the maintenance of whoſe power the ſoldiery were concerned, if they would not be driven from their colonies; and that, as for his horſe, they were ſtill in the country of the *Bruttii*, executing his orders.

ders. In conſequence of this miſunderſtanding, the *Antonian* officers held a congreſs at *Theanum*; where they preſcribed the following terms of peace to *Octavius* and to *L. Antony*: "That the "Triumvirs ſhould not diſturb the Conſuls in the "government of the Commonwealth; that they "ſhould give lands only to thoſe who had ſerved "at *Philippi*; that the money ariſing from the "eſtates already forfeited, and the prices of thoſe "yet to be expoſed to ſale, ſhould be equally di-"vided between the veterans in *Antony*'s colo-"nies, and the other triumviral troops in *Italy*; "that neither party ſhould make any new levies "of men; but that two of the *Antonian* legions "ſhould be employed by *Octavius*, in the ex-"pedition againſt *Pompey*; that *Salvidienus* might "paſs the *Alps* and go into *Spain*, to take the "command of the legions in that province, with-"out being impeded by *Aſinius Pollio*; and that "*Lucius*, ſatisfied with theſe conditions, ſhould "diſmiſs his guards, and follow the functions of "his office in a peaceful manner." Theſe arti-cles were agreed upon; but none of them were carried into execution, except that *Salvidienus* cleared the paſſage of the *Alps*, and joined the army in *Spain*. *Lucius*, pretending that his life was in danger, retired to the fortreſs of *Præ-neſte*; *Fulvia* fled to *Lepidus*, putting herſelf and her children under his protection; and both ſent meſſengers to *Antony* with letters to give him the alarm, and bring him into *Italy*.

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 40. 411 Conſ.

In this extremity of affairs, *Octavius*, dread-ing that *Pompey* might take advantage of the diſ-

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 40. 411 Conſ.

diſpute between him and *Fulvia*, ſent a deputation of his officers to *Præneſte*, to endeavour, if poſſible, to bring about a reconciliation. Theſe invited *Lucius* to their meeting: But he was hindered from complying with their requeſt by *Manius Rufus*, *Antony*'s agent, who was influenced by *Fulvia*. After a ſhort conſultation, *Manius* anſwered them in the following terms: "That, while *Antony* was buſy in raiſing money "among ſtrangers, *Octavius* by his cringing and "flexibility ſecured to himſelf all the *militia*, and "all the ſtrong places in *Italy*: That he had "taken away from *Antony Nether Gaul*, by en-"franchiſing it and incorporating it into *Italy*: "That, inſtead of eighteen towns deſigned for "the reward of the veterans, he had granted "them almoſt the whole country: That, inſtead "of twenty-eight legions that were to be pro-"vided for, he was planting four-and-thirty "legions in *Italy*: that he had taken money out "of the temples, which had never been done be-"fore, whatever famine had been in the city; and "that, on pretence of a war with *Pompey*, but "indeed to gain over to himſelf the ſoldiery, and "to employ them againſt *Antony*: that he had ſold "the goods of the proſcribed at ſuch low rates, "that it was rather giving than ſelling them: "And that, if he really deſired peace, he ought "firſt to give an account of what he had done, "and ſhould do nothing, for the future, but "what ſhould be reſolved upon by common de-"liberation." This was propoſing to take every thing out of the hands of *Octavius*; who, ſeeing

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 40. 411 Conſ.

ing *Antony*'s party bent upon war, made his preparations with the greateſt diligence. Two legions that were quartered in the city of *Ancona*, informed of this beginning of a civil commotion, ſent deputies to *Rome*, to entreat *Octavius* to conſent to an accommodation. *Octavius* anſwered, that he had no deſign againſt *Antony*, but that *Lucius* would make war upon him. This gave occaſion to another negotiation with *Lucius*, who was engaged by theſe deputies, in conjunction with ſeveral of *Antony*'s officers, to conſent to meet *Octavius* at *Gabii*, a town which lay at an equal diſtance from *Rome* and *Præneſte*: But, a party of *Octavius*'s cavalry having inſulted a detachment which *L. Antonius* had ſent to reconnoitre the road, *Lucius* retreated to his fortreſs, and neither entreaties nor menaces could prevail upon him to come to the place of meeting. Manifeſtoes were publiſhed on both ſides, and an open war declared. *Manius* publiſhed letters from *Antony*, by which he approved of his brother's proceedings, and required of his officers and ſoldiers to ſupport him.

Octavius, who, beſides his own proper army, had moſt of the diſmiſſed veterans on his ſide, and whoſe troops acted with the greateſt celerity and concert, was an over-match for *Lucius*. The Conſul had for him the good wiſhes of the city and country, becauſe he had ſhewed a regard for the complaints of thoſe who had been turned out of their eſtates, and had declared againſt the continuation of the triumviral authority, and many towns throughout *Italy* declared for him. *Rome* itſelf,

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 40. 411 Conſ.

itſelf, though guarded by two legions under the command of *Lepidus*, joyfully received him, as ſoon as *Octavius* left it to go into *Umbria*: But he had but ſix legions of new-raiſed troops under his own command, and a precarious authority over the Lieutenants, who commanded *Antony*'s legions, quartered in the diſtant parts of *Italy*. Hearing that *Salvidienus* was upon his march with a numerous army from *Gaul*, in order to join *Octavius*, and was followed in the rear by *Aſinius Pollio* and *Ventidius*, two of his brother's Lieutenants, he marched to meet him, with a view of hemming him in between his army and thoſe of his friends: But he ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides: For *Agrippa* marched after him into *Inſubria*, and hindered his retreat: And *Salvidienus* guarded the paſſages with ſuch care, that he prevented his joining *Pollio* and *Ventidius*. Not daring, in theſe circumſtances, to venture a battle, he retired to *Peruſia*, a ſtrong town in *Hetruria*, hoping that the Commanders in his intereſt would find means to come up with him. But *Ventidius* and *Pollio* did not exert themſelves, and *Octavius*, bringing up all the remainder of his troops, effectually blockaded him. *Fulvia* was at *Præneſte* with a number of Senators and Knights; where, according to *Dio*, ſhe governed with an abſolute authority, preſiding in council and haranguing the ſoldiers with a ſword by her ſide: She there raiſed a new army, which ſhe put under the command of *Plancus*, and was very preſſing in her ſollicitations to procure the junction of the ſeveral Commanders: But, whether they

Perugia.

they diſapproved of this unſeaſonable war, or ſaw it was impoſſible to diſengage *Lucius Antonius*, *Ventidius* retired to *Ravenna*, *Pollio* to *Ariminum*, *Plancus* to *Spoletum*, and the other Commanders, after ſome motions, remained quiet, and waited the event. *Lucius* defended the town with great bravery, and made ſeveral bold and deſperate ſallies, but with no proportionable ſucceſs; till, finding his ſoldiers reduced to the utmoſt miſeries of famine, he at laſt came out in perſon, and, giving himſelf up into *Octavius*'s hands, with great earneſtneſs interceded for his poor ſoldiers, and begged that his puniſhment might atone for their crimes. *Appian* who gives him a fair character, as a lover of the public welfare and an enemy to the power of the triumvirate, makes him ſpeak to his army and to *Octavius* in a very ſpirited ſtrain. The young Triumvir received him very honourably and with much generoſity; and all *Lucius*'s ſoldiers were pardoned, at the deſire of *Octavius*'s own men: The town was deſtined to be plundered, but one of the inhabitants ſet fire to his houſe before he ſtabbed himſelf, and the flames, being ſpread by the wind, conſumed the whole city. *Ventidius*, and the other Lieutenants of *Antony*, made towards the ſea-coaſt. *Calenus*, who commanded ſeveral legions in the *Alps*, dying at this time, his ſon ſurrendered them to *Octavius*: *Fulvia* fled to *Greece* with *Plancus*: *Julia*, *Antony*'s mother, with ſeveral of her ſon's principal friends, and, among the reſt, with *Tiberius Nero*, huſband to *Livia*, and father of the Emperor *Tiberius*, ſailed for *Sicily*, and received

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 40. 411 Conſ.

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 40. 411 Conſ.

ceived from *Pompey* ſhips to conduct them where they thought proper. Thus ended this dangerous war; and *Octavius* returned to *Rome*, where he entered in his triumphal robes, and crowned with laurel [q]. *L. Antonius* was ſent by *Octavius* into *Spain* with the honourable title of Proconſul, but without any real power; and he probably died there ſoon after, for there is no more mention of him in hiſtory.

[q] *Suetonius, in Aug.* 15, writes that, "after the taking of "*Peruſia*, *Octavius* put many of the priſoners to death, an- "ſwering all that offered to beg pardon, or excuſe themſelves, "briefly—*death was the word.*" Some authors add, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, "that three hundred of the equeſtrian and "ſenatorian order, culled out of the reſt, were ſlaughtered "like victims, at an altar raiſed to *Julius Cæſar* on the "ides of *March*: And others have affirmed, that he en- "tered upon this war, on purpoſe to engage his ſecret ene- "mies, and ſuch whoſe fear more than affection for him "kept them quiet, to declare themſelves now that they had "an opportunity of doing it with *Lucius Antony* at their "head; and that, by the defeat of them, and the confiſca- "tion of their eſtates, he might be enabled to make good "his promiſes to the veteran ſoldiers."

Appian writes, that he only put to death the Senators of *Peruſia*, with a few of his moſt inveterate enemies; and that he was conſtrained to this ſtep by his ſoldiers. *Paterculus* alſo has ſaid the ſame thing: *In Peruſinos magis ira militum, quam voluntate ſævitum ducis.* Lib. ii. p. 74.

CHAP. III.

ANTONY *carries over his troops into* Italy, *and is joined in his paſſage by* DOMITIUS, *with his fleet.* SEXTUS POMPEY, *courted by* OCTAVIUS, *offers his aſſiſtance to* ANTONY. *The differences of the*

two TRIUMVIRS *are compoſed by their common friends, and* Antony *marries* Octavia. *An agreement is made with* Pompey. *A new diviſion is made of the Empire.* VENTIDIUS's *exploits againſt the* Parthians.

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 40. 411 Conſ.

CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS II.
C. ASINIUS POLLIO. } Conſuls.

Y. R. 713. Bef. Chr. 39. 412 Conſ.

ANTONY was ſtill immerſed in pleaſure at *Alexandria*, when he received the account of his brother's defeat, and the ruin of his party in *Italy*; and that *Octavius* had made himſelf maſter of both *Gauls*, and had got all the legions into his hands that were quartered in thoſe parts. About the ſame time he received advice that the *Parthians*, commanded by *Pacorus*, their King's ſon, and *Labienus*[r], had made themſelves maſters of *Syria* and *Judea*, had ſacked *Jeruſalem*, and carried away *Hircanus*, the High-prieſt, and *Herod*'s brother, priſoners. Theſe diſagreeable and diſgraceful tidings rouſed him from his lethargy: He immediately gathered together two hundred ſhips, and a conſiderable army which he had ready in thoſe parts. His deſign was to march immediately againſt the *Parthians*; but the preſſing letters he received from his wife *Fulvia*, and his friends, obliged him to turn towards *Italy*. He went from *Alexandria* to *Tyre*, from whence paſſing by the iſles of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, he arrived at *Athens*, where he met

[r] This *Labienus* was the ſon of *Titus Labienus*, who had been *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant in *Gaul*.

Y. R. 713. Bef. Chr. 39. 412 Conſ.

Fulvia. He much blamed her and his brother *Lucius* for occaſioning the late diſorders, and here he underſtood that *Octavius* had lately married *Scribonia*, the ſiſter of *Libo*, *Pompey*'s father-in-law, a Lady much more advanced in years than himſelf; and in which alliance he could have no other view than to gain over *Pompey* to his party for the ſake of his ſhipping, of which he was almoſt deſtitute. *Antony* advanced therefore towards *Italy*, leaving *Fulvia* ſick at *Sicyon*; which neglect and ſcorn finiſhed what his infidelity had begun, and ſhe died there ſoon after of grief. In theſe circumſtances, it was a ſatisfaction to *Antony* to ſee himſelf courted by *Pompey*: This Commander, inſtead of cloſing with *Octavius*, choſe to treat with *Antony*, and ſent *Libo* to him under the pretence of conducting to him *Julia*, his mother. *Antony* acted with great diſcretion, and anſwered, that, if he was obliged to make war againſt *Octavius*, he would willingly accept of *Pompey*'s propoſal; and, if, on the contrary, their differences ſhould be amicably determined, he would take care to reconcile him with his collegue. *Domitius Abenobarbus* joined him in his paſſage over the *Ionian* ſea; and, after having kept an independent fleet ſince the battle of *Philippi*, ſurrendered to him with all his ſhips and forces. With this reinforcement he appeared before *Brunduſium*, where he was refuſed admittance, under the pretence that he brought with him *Domitius*, who was an enemy to *Cæſar*. *Antony*, upon this, blocked up the place, and ſent to *Pompey* in

Flor. lib. iv. c. 9. Plu. in Anton.

Sicily

Sicily to engage him to invade *Sardinia* and *Italy*. *Octavius* marched directly to *Brundusium*, where the old soldiers being unwilling to fight against *Antony*, the army endeavoured by all methods to reconcile the two competitors; and this was at length brought about by the management and interposition of *Cocceius Nerva*, *Pollio*, and *Mecænas*. In consequence of this agreement all offences and affronts were to be mutually forgiven, and a marriage was proposed between *Antony* and *Octavius*'s half-sister *Octavia*, the widow of *Marcellus*, a Lady of great beauty and of extraordinary virtues and accomplishments. Though *Cleopatra* had so large a share in *Antony*'s heart, yet he could not without baseness refuse a Lady of *Octavia*'s rank and admirable qualities; and, to avoid all present inconveniencies, he married her. *Manius*, *Antony*'s agent in *Italy*, and *Salvidienus*, *Octavius*'s chief Lieutenant, were the victims of this reconciliation. The first was put to death by *Antony*'s order, as the chief author of the *Perusian* war. The second was accused by the Senate before *Octavius* of treasonable practices, and sentenced to die; which sentence he executed upon himself. The historians tell us, that *Salvidienus* offered his services to *Antony*, during the siege of *Brundusium*; and that *Antony*, upon his reconciliation, informed *Octavius* of the treachery of his Lieutenant. A new division of the Roman Empire was made upon this renewal of peace and amity, by which *Codropolis*, a town of *Illyricum*, was made the boundary of their dominions; All from that place westward being

Y. R. 713. Bef. Chr. 39. 412 Conf.

Y. R. 713. Bef. Chr. 39. 411 Conſ.

to obey *Octavius*, and all eaſtward *Antony*; *Africa* was left to *Lepidus*.

After this diviſion, *Antony* immediately diſpatched *Ventidius* into *Aſia* againſt the *Parthians*. But the troubles at home ſeemed much greater to both *Antony* and *Octavius*, who were now entertained with the ſad and lamentable complaints of poor people, ready to ſtarve for want of proviſions; which *Pompey* hindered from coming either from the eaſt or weſt by means of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corſica*, which he had in his power; and from *Africa* by his navy, which was then very powerful. *Octavius*, on account of ſome former affronts, would not be brought to any accommodation with *Pompey*, notwithſtanding the continual cries and prayers of the multitude, whoſe rage and fury came at laſt to that height, that he was nigh being ſtoned by them, and *Antony* too by coming to his aſſiſtance. At laſt, both Triumvirs and *Pompey* were ſo far perſuaded as to come to an interview upon two bridges built upon ſtakes driven into the ſea, a little off the promontory of *Miſenum*; the two Triumvirs accompanied by their troops drawn up upon the ſhore, and *Pompey* by a numerous fleet; but, the latter demanding large privileges for the proſcribed perſons, and to be admitted into the power and place of *Lepidus*, the treaty was ineffectual. Yet the preſſing neceſſities and frequent mutinies of the people brought them together a ſecond time, where, amongſt other articles, it was concluded that *Pompey ſhould retain all the iſlands he was then in poſſeſſion of, and*

Appian.

alſo

Y. R. 713. Bef. Chr. 39. 412 Conſ.

alſo Peloponneſus; that he ſhould be made Augur, and have the privilege of demanding the conſulſhip in his abſence, and of diſcharging that office by any of his friends; that he ſhould leave the ſea open, and pay the people what corn was due from Sicily; that thoſe who had taken refuge with him, out of fear, ſhould be reſtored to their poſſeſſions and privileges, and loſe only their moveables; that the proſcribed perſons, except ſuch as were guilty of Cæſar's death, ſhould have all liberty to return and receive a fourth part of their eſtates; and that he himſelf ſhould receive ſeventy millions of ſeſterces. This treaty was ſigned by the Generals, and was then ſent to *Rome* to be kept by the *Veſtals.* Thus a peace was concluded to the great joy and ſatisfaction of all the people. The three Chiefs thought of treating each other on this occaſion; and it fell by lot to *Pompey* to give the firſt entertainment. He received them accordingly on board his ſhip: And, while they were at ſupper, *Menas*, his Admiral, whiſpered him in the ear: "Allow me "to cut the cables, and you are Maſter of the "world." *Pompey*, after a moment's reflexion, anſwered, "You ſhould have done it without "conſulting me; *Pompey* cannot perjure him-"ſelf." The two gueſts heard nothing of what was ſaid, and the entertainment was concluded with as much gaiety as it had begun. *Antony* and *Octavius* treated *Pompey* in their turns; and theſe rejoicings ſeemed to ſpeak the ſincerity of their union [s].

5651 04 lb. ſterl. Vell. Pat. ii. 77.

[s] The two Conſuls of this year; *Calvinus* and *Pollio*, laid down

Y. R. 714. Bef. Chr. 38. 413 Conſ.

L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS, C. CALVISIUS SABINUS, } Conſuls.

The noiſe of civil diſcord now ceaſed for awhile; and *Octavius* and *Antony* were welcomed to *Rome* with the loudeſt acclamations. The other Chief ſailed back to his iſlands. Before they ſeparated, they named, it is ſaid, the Conſuls for the four following years; *Antony* and *Libo* for the firſt, *Octavius* and *Pompey* for the ſecond, *Domitius* and *Soſius* for the third, and *Antony* and *Octavius* for the fourth. This nomination, however, did not take place.

The ſtay which OCTAVIUS and ANTONY made at *Rome* was not long. *Octavius*, to keep his ſoldiers in action, ſent a detachment of them into *Illyricum*, and led the reſt into *Gaul*, where there were ſome diſturbances; and *Antony* departed for the Eaſt, to carry on the war againſt the *Parthians*. This war his Lieutenant *Ventidius* had managed with great ſucceſs, having

down their office before the end of their nominal magiſtracy, in favour of *L. Cornelius Balbus*, a friend of *Octavius*; and of *P. Canidius Craſſus*, one of *Antony*'s Officers, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee at the head of his land-army. *Pollio*, when diveſted of the conſulſhip, was ſent to make war againſt the *Parthinians*, a people of *Illyria*, who had ſhewn a ſtrong attachment to *Brutus*. He took the town of *Salona*, and performed other exploits, which entitled him to a triumph. His colleague *Calvinus* obtained the ſame honour for ſome ſucceſs againſt the *Cerritani* in *Spain*. During their conſulate, *Herod* was made King of the *Jews* by a decree of the Senate, and old *Dejotarus*, that good ally of the Ariſtocratians, died, leaving behind him, among other memorable deeds, that of having murdered all his children, but the one whom he deſtined for his heir.

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overthrown *Labienus* and *Barzapharnes* in two engagements, in which theſe two Generals periſhed. *Antony*, being informed in his way of theſe particulars, ſtopped at *Athens*, where he paſſed the winter, and gave himſelf over to his pleaſures and diverſions in the company of *Octavia*; with whom he is ſaid to have been in love at this time. He quitted, during his reſidence there, all the enſigns of authority, and affected to live like a private perſon. He neglected buſineſs altogether, and divided his time between love, philoſophy, and entertainments. Y.R. 714. Bef. Chr. 38. 413 Conſ.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER, C. NORBANUS FLACCUS, } Conſuls.

Antony, in the beginning of this year, thought of reſuming the General. A jealouſy perhaps of the honour acquired by his Lieutenant had ſeized him at this time; and he left *Athens* to gather thoſe laurels which properly belonged to him. But, before he arrived at the army, *Ventidius* had put an end to the war by a complete victory which he had gained over *Pacorus*. This brave Prince periſhed in the battle, and all his men were deſtroyed, excepting thoſe who found protection in *Samoſatis*, the capital town of *Commagena*, where *Antiochus* reigned. *Ventidius*, who was afraid of offending *Antony*, did not purſue all the advantages of this victory. In the proſecution, however, of the war, he laid ſiege to *Samoſatis*, which he would have taken in a ſhort time, if *Antony* had not ſent expreſs orders to him to wait his arrival. As the juſtice, generoſity, and Y.R. 715. Bef. Chr. 37. 414 Conſ.

Y. R. 715. Bef. Chr. 37. 474 Conſ.

and bravery of the young *Parthian* Prince had endeared all the *Syrians* to his perſon, and there was no hopes of bringing back to their duty ſeveral towns and Princes in thoſe parts, while they thought him alive, *Ventidius* cauſed his head to be carried about the province, and thus completely revenged upon the *Parthians* the cruelty and indignity they were guilty of, in regard to *Craſſus* and his brave and generous ſons. When *Antony* arrived, he took upon him the command of the ſiege of *Samoſatis*, but his behaviour in the conduct of it procured him no honour. The town was bravely defended, and *Antiochus* at laſt purchaſed of him a peace for three hundred talents, though he had offered *Ventidius* a thouſand before his arrival. After this exploit, away he flew to his dear *Octavia* at *Athens*. He was decreed a triumph in *Rome* for the victories of *Ventidius*; and this brave General was likewiſe admitted to the ſame honour. The triumph decreed to *Antony* was never exhibited; but *Ventidius* celebrated his, this ſame year, on the 28*th* of *December*, with great pomp; and the circumſtance of his having been formerly led in triumph, in his infancy, added to the public joy, and to the glory of this diſtinction.

CHAP. IV.

The renewal of the war between the TRIUMVIRS *and* SEXTUS POMPEY. OCTAVIUS*'s preparations. His bad ſucceſs in ſeveral naval engagements. He at laſt deſtroys* SEXTUS*'s fleet, and obli-*

obliges him to quit Sicily. *He diſpoſſeſſes* LEPIDUS *of his army and the triumviral power, and applies himſelf to gain the affections of all orders of men.*

Y.R. 715. Bef. Chr. 37. 414 Conſ.

THE peace which had been concluded between *Pompey* and the Triumvirs was not of long continuance. *Antony*, who by the articles of it was obliged to quit *Peloponneſus*, would not do it till *Pompey* had ſatisfied him for ſuch monies as were due to him from the inhabitants. *Pompey* would by no means hearken to this, but immediately began, contrary to his engagements, to augment his forces. He alſo ſecretly authoriſed the pirates to ſeize the proviſions deſtined for *Italy*, which renewed the former grievances and miſeries, and made the people complain, *that the only change in their ſituation was, that they had four tyrants inſtead of three.* *Menas*, one of *Pompey*'s freedmen, in whom he had hitherto placed the greateſt confidence, had oppoſed the peace, and now excited him to a rupture: Yet, ſoon after, upon a ſuſpicion of a change in his maſter's affections, he revolted to *Octavius*, and delivered up to him *Sardinia* and *Corſica* with three legions and ſixty gallies. *Sextus* demanded him back, and, upon receiving a refuſal, he ſent a ſquadron to pillage the coaſt of *Campania*. *Octavius*, on his ſide, took the treaty of *Miſenum* out of the hands of the Veſtals, alledging, that, by this hoſtility it was broke, and ſummoned *Antony* and *Lepidus* to come to his aſſiſtance. But, neither of them making haſte to comply, he was obliged to act by

V. R. 715. Bef. Chr. 37. 414 Conf.

by himſelf; and he ſoon gathered two numerous fleets; one compoſed moſtly of the veſſels of *Menas*, and commanded by *Calviſius Sabinus*; another built and equipped on the *Adriatic* coaſt, under the conduct of *L. Cornificius*. Theſe two fleets were to attack *Sicily* on two ſides, and cauſe a diverſion of the forces of the enemy, while his legions paſſed from *Reggio* into the iſland. But *Sextus*, who was in readineſs for a vigorous defence, ſent a ſquadron under the conduct of *Menecrates* againſt *Calviſius*, and deſtroyed moſt of his ſhips near *Cuma*; and he waited himſelf, at *Meſſana*, the approach of the other fleet. This alſo was beat back by *Pompey*, and, when lying at anchor, was almoſt entirely deſtroyed. *Octavius*, who was on board of it, got on ſhore with much difficulty, and, having ſaved what men and veſſels he could, contented himſelf, for the preſent, in diſtributing his land-forces along the coaſt, till he could get together another fleet.

Octavius was married this year to *Livia*, ſo famous for having engaged his conſtant affection during his whole life. She had lately returned to *Rome* with her huſband *Tiberius Nero*, under the ſecurity of the peace of *Miſenum*; and, by her refined and dexterous wit more than her beauty, ſhe made ſuch a deep impreſſion on his heart, that, in order to procure her, he broke through all the rules of decency. *Scribonia* was divorced from him, the very day ſhe was brought to bed of the famous *Julia*; and *Tiberius Nero* was conſtrained to yield up to him his wife, though ſhe was ſix months gone with child. The ſcruple ari-

ariſing from this circumſtance was removed by the college of Augurs. The queſtion was put to them, "Whether a woman, with child by "her huſband, could be lawfully married to "another man before child-birth?" They ſaid, that, ſince there could be no doubt to whom the child belonged, *Livia* was free to marry, though pregnant, the law forbidding it only, "when that "was uncertain." The Lady was delivered three months afterwards of *Druſus*, whom *Octavius* immediately ſent to *Tiberius* [t].

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The five years of the triumvirate were now almoſt expired; and the Triumvirs prolonged their power for five years more, without regarding the ſuffrages either of the Senate or people.

[t] *Sueton.* in Galba, c. 1. Liviæ olim poſt Auguſti ſtatim nuptias Vejentanum ſuum reviſenti, præter volans aquila, Gallinam albam, ramulum lauri roſtro tenentem, ita ut rapuerat, demiſit in gremium: cumque nutriri alitem pangique ramulum placuiſſet, tanta pullorum ſoboles provenit, ut hodie quoque ea villa *ad Gallinas* vocetur; tale vero Lauretum, ut triumphaturi Cæſares inde laureas decerperent; fuitque mos triumphantibus alias confeſtim eodem loco pangere:—Plinius xv. 30. Liviæ Druſillæ, quæ poſtea Auguſta matrimonii nomen accepit, cum pacta eſſet illa Cæſari, Gallinam conſpicui candoris ſedenti aquila ex alto abjecit in gremium illæſam: intrepideque miranti acceſſit miraculum, quoniam teneret roſtro laureum ramum onuſtum ſuis baccis. Conſervari alitem & ſobolem juſſere Aruſpices ramumque eum ſeri ac rite cuſtodiri. Quod factum eſt in villa Cæſarum fluvio Tiberi impoſita, juxta nonum lapidem Flaminia via, quæ ob id vocatur, *ad Gallinas:* Mireque ſilva provenit. Ex ea triumphans poſtea Cæſar laurum in manu tenuit, coronamque capite geſſit: Ac deinde imperatores Cæſares cuncti. Dio eadem habet libro iv. 8vo. p. 389.

M. Vip-

Y.R. 716. Bef. Chr. 36. 415 Conſ.

M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA, L. CANIDIUS GALLUS, } Conſuls.

Canidius was a creature of *Antony*'s; and *Agrippa* was a faithful ſervant of *Octavius*; a man of low birth, but who had great talents for war and for a Court. He had lately brought back to their duty the rebellious *Gauls*, and in this expedition had paſſed the *Rhine*. *Octavius* with the conſulſhip had procured him a decree for a triumph: But he rejected this diſtinction as unbecoming, at a time when his General had been unſucceſsful. The whole year of their conſulſhip was ſpent in making preparations againſt *Pompey*. *Agrippa* was charged with the care of building a new fleet and exerciſing the rowers and ſeamen; and he acquitted himſelf of this double employment with great zeal and capacity, overlooking the carpenters, and preſiding over the exerciſes, in which twenty thouſand ſlaves were inſtructed. He executed alſo another noble work, the *Julian* port, formed by the junction of the lakes *Lucrinus* and *Avernus* with the ſea; in which the greateſt fleets might be received, and find ſufficient ſhelter from the winds and tides. The lake *Lucrinus*, ſituated between *Miſenum* and *Puteoli*, was ſeparated from the ſea by an old cauſey a mile in length, and of a ſufficient breadth to allow a waggon to paſs. *Agrippa* repaired and raiſed this cauſey, which, being weakened in ſeveral places, was frequently overflowed. He cut two openings in it to allow a paſſage for ſhips; and, from the bottom of the lake *Lucrinus*, he drew a canal to the lake *Avernus*, which laſt properly

perly formed the port, and afforded a ſecure retreat to veſſels. It is reported, that, in order to correct the bad quality of the air, which was ſuppoſed to be infectious and peſtilential, *Agrippa* cut down the foreſts which grew on the borders of the *Avernus*, and thus, by giving a free circulation to the air, made it a healthful and pleaſant ſituation. It was here he aſſembled all the new veſſels built in the ſeveral ports of *Italy*, and exerciſed the rowers and ſailors [a].

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Serv. in Virg. *Æn.* iii. 442.

L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA, M. COCCEIUS NERVA, } Conſuls.

Antony, in the beginning of this year, appeared before *Brunduſium*, with a fleet of 300 ſail; and pretended that he came to aſſiſt *Octavius* in the war againſt *Pompey*: But *Octavius*,

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[a] "An memorem portus, Lucrinoque addita clauſtra?
"Atque indignatum magnis ſtridoribus æquor,
"Julia quâ ponto longa ſonat unde refuſo,
"Tyrrhenuſque fretis immittitur æſtus Avernis?"
Virg. Georg. ii. 161.

——— Sive receptus
Terrâ Neptunus claſſes Aquilonibus arcet Regis opus."
Hor. Art. Poet. v. 63.

This noble and royal work does not ſeem to have been of any laſting uſe. *Strabo*, who wrote under the Emperor *Tiberius*, takes very little notice of it; and, in the hiſtory of later ages, it is ſeldom mentioned. The face of theſe places was entirely changed in 1538, by an earthquake, which in one night raiſed a great part of the bottom of the lake *Lucrinus*, and the adjacent fields, into a mountain five hundred feet high, called now *Monte Nuovo*, which is covered particularly on one ſide with the ſcoriæ of melted metal, and has a hollow in its ſummit, which is near a mile and a half in circumference.

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having now gathered a very powerful force at ſea, could willingly have diſpenſed with his colleague's civility. *Plutarch* ſays, that he came rather as an enemy than a friend; and the new diſguſts that aroſe between them, at this time, ſeem to favour his opinion. *Antony*, it has been ſaid, was not willing that *Octavius* ſhould have all the honour and profit of the conqueſt of *Sicily*, and was deſirous to exchange a part of his fleet, which was a great expence to him, for a land-army, which he wanted in order to puſh the war againſt the *Parthians*. But, whatever were the cauſes of their diſcontent, certain it is that they began to conſider each other as rivals, and ſhewed openly their diſſatisfaction. *Antony* was refuſed admittance into the port of *Brunduſium*, and therefore landed at *Tarentum*, where *Octavia*, who accompanied him, obtained his leave to go to her brother, and clear up all miſunderſtandings. *Octavius* received her with the courteſy ſuitable to the great affection he had for her, but was yet ſo backward in anſwering her requeſts, that ſhe publicly addreſſed herſelf to his two great friends, *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*: "*All mankind*, ſaid ſhe, *have their eyes fixed upon* "*me, and congratulate me for partaking of the* "*grandeur of two powerful Generals. I am the* "*wife of the one, and the ſiſter of the other.* "*But, if an ill deſtiny ſhould lead them to war* "*with each other, I ſhall be miſerable without re-* "*dreſs; I ſhall be reduced to the fatal neceſſity of* "*loſing a huſband or a brother.*" Her entreaties had, at length, ſo much weight that *Octavius* conſented

Plut. in Ant.

ſented to meet *Antony* between *Tarentum* and *Metapontum.* From the place choſen for their interview, it appeared that the young Triumvir intended to have a ſmall river between him and his collegue. But *Antony*, who did not want generoſity, when he ſaw *Octavius* approach, leaped into a boat, that he might croſs over to him. This *Octavius* perceived, and, imitating the example, they met in the middle of the ſtream, and there diſputed, who ſhould go over to the other. *Octavius* prevailed, as he declared that he had an intention to go to *Tarentum* to ſee his ſiſter. They ſoon agreed between themſelves and againſt *Sextus.* *Antony* lent *Octavius* 120 veſſels, and received from him twenty thouſand legionary ſoldiers: And, in conſideration of ten light ſhips of war, *Octavia* obtained, for her huſband, a thouſand choſen men, who were to ſerve him as a guard. They alſo, that they might confirm their negotiations, projected a double marriage; the one of *Antyllus*, the eldeſt ſon of *Antony*, with *Julia*, daughter to *Octavius*, who was not three years old; and the other of *Antonia*, the daughter of *Antony* and *Octavia*, who was ſtill younger, with the ſon of *Domitius Ahenobarbus*; which laſt took place, and began the alliance between the family of *Domitius* and *Cæſar.* Having thus adjuſted their differences, they took leave of each other: *Antony* returned into the Eaſt with his new legions, leaving *Octavia* in *Italy:* And *Octavius*, on his ſide, ſtrengthened

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with ſuch a conſiderable navy, applied himſelf entirely to the war againſt *Sextus* [x].

Octavius determined to invade *Sicily* from three ſeveral quarters: *Lepidus* was to make a deſcent from *Africa*; *Statilius Taurus* from *Tarentum*, with the ſhips left by *Antony*; and he himſelf, with his new-built fleet from the *Julian* port: And the three armies ſet out, by agreement, on the *firſt of July* [y]. But, on the third day after they had ſet ſail, a violent tempeſt aroſe, and rendered uſeleſs, at leaſt for a time, theſe formidable preparations. *Lepidus* alone landed his men in *Sicily*, on the coaſt of *Lilybæum*. *Taurus* was forced back to *Tarentum*; and *Octavius*'s ſquadron, having no port near to put in at, ſuffered greatly. *Sextus*, who, on this occaſion, ſa-

[x] *Appian* tells us, that, before he began any military operations, he purified his new fleet by the religious ceremony of a *luſtration*, which was performed after the following manner: Altars were erected in the ſea a little off the ſhore, and the ſhips, with all their reſpective crews, in a profound ſilence, were ranked in order before them: The Prieſts ſacrificed, ſtanding in the water; then placed the victims in a pinnace, with which they rowed thrice round the fleet, followed by other boats in which were all the principal Commanders; all offering prayers, that, if the fleet was threatened with any misfortune, it might fall upon the victims. The victims were divided into two parts, and one half of them was thrown into the ſea, the other half burnt upon the altars, whilſt all the multitude made their prayers.

[y] According to *Dio*, l. xlix. p. 392, in the beginning of ſpring.—We ſhall follow *Appian* in the account of this war, his relation being as authentic and more conſiſtent than any other.

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crificed ſolemnly to *Neptune*, took for his colour the ſea-green, inſtead of the purple; and *Octavius*, on his ſide, declared he would conquer in ſpite of *Neptune*. *Lepidus* was able to keep footing in *Sicily*, for he had ſailed with a thouſand veſſels of burden and ſeventy gallies, which carried over twelve legions, five thouſand *Numidian* horſe, and all things neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence. Y. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

Pompey hoped that, after ſo many loſſes, *Octavius* would lie quiet; but when he heard that he had refitted his fleet, and was preparing to invade *Sicily* again, that very ſummer; he ſent the perfidious *Menas*, who had already abandoned the party of *Octavius*, and had returned to his old maſter, to obſerve the motions of his enemy. *Menas*, ill ſatisfied with the reception he had met with from *Pompey*, who had truſted him with no other command than that of the ſeven ſhips which he had brought back with him, and which he commanded in the preſent expedition, reſolved once more to change ſides. To this purpoſe, imagining, that, whatever happened, it would be for his advantage to do ſome brave and valiant action, he diſtributed all the money he had among his companions, and, ſailing directly towards *Octavius*'s fleet, he fell unexpectedly upon the guard-ſhips: Then, going off, and falling on again, he carried away ſometimes two of them, and ſometimes three: He picked up alſo in the very ports ſeveral ſhips laden with corn, and ſunk and burnt thoſe he could not carry off, and filled the coaſt with terror. He grew ſo

V. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

bold that he even came to an anchor in a bay upon the coaſt, where he lay, as if he had been faſt in the ouze, till his enemies, running down from the mountains as to an aſſured prey, he gently rowed off, deriding them, to the grief and aſtoniſhment of the whole army. After he had thus made known his importance to *Cæſar*, he thought of giving a favourable impreſſion of himſelf by performing an act of generoſity; and he diſmiſſed without ranſom a Senator called *Rebilus*, who was among the priſoners he had taken. He then raiſed a report amongſt his people, that they ſhould ſoon have a fugitive of conſequence, *Vinidius Marcellus*, an intimate friend of *Octavius*, whoſe affection he had found means to engage. Deceived by this pretext, his ſoldiers permitted him to have a conference with *Vinidius*, in one of the neighbouring iſlands; and he told *Vinidius* that, when he left *Cæſar*'s party, he had been forced to it by the injuries he daily received from *Calviſius*, at that time Admiral; but that, ſince *Agrippa* had now the command of the navy, he was ready to return to *Cæſar*'s ſervice, provided *Vinidius* would bring him a ſafe conduct from *Meſſala*, who, in *Agrippa*'s abſence, commanded on the coaſt. He alſo promiſed, by ſome ſignal ſervice, to repair his fault. *Meſſala* ſent the ſafe conduct, and *Menas* came over to *Octavius*, who permitted the officers of his ſhips to go where they pleaſed, and pardoned *Menas*; but gave him no command and had a ſtrict watch kept over him [z].

[z] This perfidious wretch, if we can believe *Horace*, lived after-

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When the fleet was in readineſs, *Octavius* came to *Vibo*, where he gave orders to *Meſſala* to paſs over into *Sicily*, with two legions, in order to join *Lepidus*'s army, and to land in the gulph of *Taurominium*: He ſent three likewiſe to *Stylida*, which is the very extremity of the ſtreight, to wait a fair opportunity; and commanded *Taurus* to cruiſe with his fleet from *Tarentum* to *Scylaceum*, which lies oppoſite to *Taurominium*. *Pompey*, on his ſide, placed good garriſons in all the places of the coaſt, where any forces could land; and kept his fleet at *Meſſana* ready to ſail upon the firſt order. While theſe preparations were going forward, *Lepidus*, having ſent for the remainder of his forces, which conſiſted of four legions, *Papias*, one of *Pompey*'s Lieutenants, met them in the open ſea, and ſunk and burnt ſeveral of the veſſels in which they had embarked, forcing the reſt to return to *Africa*. Two of the legions were cut off, and thoſe of them, who thought to ſave themſelves by ſwimming to the coaſt of *Sicily*, were there maſſacred by the order of *Titiſienus Gallus*, another of *Pompey*'s Lieutenants. *Papias*, after this ſucceſs, returned to *Pompey*; and the two legions, who recovered *Africa*, found means to croſs over to *Lepidus*.

Cæſar himſelf paſſed, with his main fleet, from *Vibo* to *Strongyle*, one of the *Æolian* or *Vulcanian* iſlands; and, ſeeing ſeveral camps on the coaſts of *Sicily* on that ſide, he ſuppoſed *Pom-*

afterwards in great opulence, and ſerved in the capacity of a military Tribune. See *Epod* iv.

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pey was there in perſon; and therefore, leaving *Agrippa* in that ſtation, he returned to *Vibo*, and immediately joined *Meſſala*, with a deſign to lay hold of the opportunity of *Pompey*'s abſence to ſurpriſe *Tauromínium*, and to fall upon *Sicily* on both ſides at once. *Agrippa* ſailed from *Strongyle* to *Hiera*, another iſland, which lay neareſt to the coaſt of *Sicily*; and determined the next day to make an attack upon *Mylæ*, and a fleet of forty ſail, which lay there under the command of *Democharés*. *Pompey*, appriſed of his intention, ſent from *Meſſana* forty more ſhips to *Democharés*, under the command of *Apollophanes*, another of his freedmen, who was followed by *Papiás*, with ſeventy others. *Agrippa*, before day, weighed anchor with half his ſhips, deſigning only to fight with *Papias*, with whom, by his intelligence, he expected to meet; but, when he ſaw *Apollophanes*'s fleet followed by another of ſeventy ſail, he ſent preſently to give notice to *Octavius* that *Pompey* was at *Mylæ*, with the greateſt part of his naval force; and, placing himſelf in the middle of his great ſhips, ſent to the reſt at *Hiera* to join him without delay. The ſhips of the two Admirals, *Papias* and *Agrippa*, magnificently equipped with towers on poop and prow, began the fight, and gave the ſignals to the others, who inſtantly charged with great violence, ſome ſtem and ſtem, others ſtanding off to gain their enemy's broadſide, and fall on with greater force. Great was the noiſe made by the ſhips ſhocking againſt each other, and greater the ſhouts of the men.

Pom-

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Pompey's ſhips were middle-ſized, light and eaſy to manage, and of courſe more active than thoſe of the enemy, and, by their ſwiftneſs, fit to take all advantages in boarding; *Octavius*'s, being greater and more heavy, were of conſequence leſs nimble, but, by their ſuperior ſtrength, they gave the ſhock with more violence, and were abler to receive it. *Octavius* had the beſt ſoldiers, and *Pompey* the moſt ſkilful mariners. Theſe charged not right forwards upon *Cæſar*'s great ſhips, but, ſheering by them, ſometimes broke a whole line of oars, ſometimes carried away their rudders, and ſometimes ſuddenly bringing about, they attacked them with their beak-heads. But, when *Octavius*'s ſhips could reach any of theſe light-timbered veſſels, they preſſed upon them ſo furiouſly, that he either ſtaved them or bored them through and through; and, if they came at any time to fight board and board, the *Cæſarean* ſoldiers, from their great ſhips, miſerably knocked their enemies down with miſſile arms thrown from aloft; and, caſting in their grappling-hooks, eaſily ſtopped them; ſo that, the ſervice being too hard to be borne, the *Pompeians* had no other way to ſave themſelves, but by leaping into the ſea, where ſkiffs, appointed for that purpoſe, took them up. Mean while, *Agrippa*, whoſe main deſign was upon *Papias*'s ſhip, gave him ſo cruel a ſhock in the bow, that he opened all his keel, and thoſe in the forecaſtle preſently fell, and, the water entering, all the lower bank of rowers were drowned; the reſt upon planks ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. *Papias* himſelf

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was received into the next ſhip, and renewed the fight.

When *Pompey*, who from the top of a mountain was ſpectator of the fight, ſaw that his people never came near any of the enemy's ſhips without great loſs of men, and that the reſt of *Agrippa*'s fleet was ſailing from *Hiera* to his aſſiſtance; he made a ſignal for his men to retreat, which they did at firſt, gradually, ſtill fighting with great bravery: But, being cloſely preſſed upon, they all, at laſt, fairly fled, and took refuge in the mouths of ſeveral rivers, where *Agrippa*'s pilots adviſed him not to hazard his heavy veſſels on account of the flats. He came, therefore, to an anchor in ſight of them in the open ſea, as if he deſigned to attack them in the night; but, his officers admoniſhing him not to overharraſs the ſoldiers, or be too confident in the preſent calmneſs of the ſea, he retreated towards the evening; and *Pompey*'s ſhips got into the harbour. *Agrippa* loſt in this battle but five veſſels, and *Pompey* thirty. The latter, nevertheleſs, commended his men for having ſo well defended themſelves againſt ſhips ſo ſuperior in height and ſtrength, nor were his rewards leſs than if they had been victorious. He alſo gave them hopes, that, by fighting in the ſtreights, they would have better ſucceſs, as their light ſhips would better ſtem the current; and he promiſed withal to add ſomewhat to the height of them.

At the ſame time this brave Commander gave himſelf no reſt; judging rightly that *Octavius*

tavius was gone to *Taurus*'s camp to execute his deſign upon *Taurominium*, he ſet ſail for *Meſſana*, leaving at *Mylæ* a part of his ſhips, to make *Agrippa* believe he was ſtill there. *Agrippa*, on the other ſide, having given a little repoſe to his men, ſailed towards *Tyndaris*, which had promiſed to ſurrender. The inhabitants were willing to receive him, but the garriſon defended the place ſo valiantly that they drove him from it; yet ſome other towns, revolting to him, received his garriſons, and towards night he returned to his fleet. *Octavius*, on his ſide, being well aſſured that *Pompey* was gone from *Meſſana* to *Mylæ* to meet *Agrippa*, came from *Scylaceum* to *Leucopetra*, from whence he propoſed to paſs by night to *Taurominium*; but, having information there of *Agrippa*'s victory, he thought there was no longer any reaſon to conceal his embarkation, and determined to ſail in broad day-light, not ſuſpecting that *Pompey* would remove far from *Agrippa*. Day then beginning to appear, he took a view of the ſea from the mountains as far as his ſight could reach, and, ſpying none of the enemy's ſhips, he went on board, loading the ſhips with all the ſoldiers he could put into them; leaving the reſt with *Meſſala* till the ſhips returned to fetch them. Being come near to *Taurominium*, he ſummoned the place to ſurrender; but, the garriſon refuſing, he paſſed on beyond the river *Onobala*, and the temple of *Venus*, and landed near *Archigetes*, where, having offered prayers to the Gods, he encamped. He was beginning the circumvallation of his camp, when

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Pom-

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Pompey was deſcried coming with a great fleet, to the aſtoniſhment of all the army, who thought he had been quite ruined by *Agrippa*. Along the ſhore likewiſe came horſemen, ſtriving in ſwiftneſs to out-paſs the fleet; and in ſeveral parts were ſeen great bodies of foot. *Cæſar*'s people, ſeeing themſelves thus ſurrounded, were utterly diſmayed. *Octavius* himſelf was in the greateſt anxiety, becauſe it was now impoſſible for *Meſſala* to join him. The horſe firſt fell among *Octavius*'s men ſtill employed in their trenches: And, if the fleet and foot had come on at the ſame time, *Pompey* would probably have gained an important victory; but, being ignorant of the terror his enemies were in, and not inclining to come to battle in the evening, he ordered the fleet to retreat to the promontory of *Coccyna*, and the foot, who durſt not lodge near *Octavius*'s camp, to the town of *Phœniſſa*. The night following, the *Cæſarians* fortified their camp. They conſiſted of three legions, five hundred horſemen without horſes, about a thouſand light-armed foot, and two thouſand veteran volunteers, beſides the ſea-forces. *Cæſar*, not doubting but *Pompey* would attack his camp, left the defence of it to *Cornificius*, whom he ordered to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity; and he embarked himſelf before day-light to return to *Italy* for freſh ſuccours. *Pompey*, however, did not think it adviſeable to attack his camp, but fell upon his fleet with the utmoſt violence. The fight laſted till night. Many of *Octavius*'s ſhips were taken, and the reſt, a ſmall number

excepted, were either ſunk or burnt. A few of his ſailors who could ſwim eſcaped to *Cornificius*'s camp, who ſent his light-armed foot to receive them. *Octavius*, rowed a great way in the night in a ſmall galley; but, being hotly purſued, he was obliged to get into a ſmall boat, that he might not draw the attention of the *Pompeian* Captains; and, at length, by good fortune, he reached the port of *Abala*, where he landed with only one attendant; ſpent with fatigue, and overwhelmed with grief on account of his defeat. He was thence conveyed to *Meſſala*'s camp, which was not far diſtant. As ſoon as he got thither, he diſpatched a brigantine to *Cornificius*, to let him know that he would ſoon come to his relief; and the ſame night he went to *Stylida*, where *Carinas* was with three legions: and, being ready to put to ſea, he gave him orders to paſs over directly to *Lipara*, and there wait for him; and he wrote likewiſe to *Agrippa*, that, conſidering the danger *Cornificius* was in, he ſhould with all ſpeed ſend to him *Laronius* with the beſt of his forces. At the ſame time *Mæcenas* was ſent to *Rome*, to take cogniſance of ſome diſturbances there, and put a ſtop to them: And this he effected by his prudence and ſeverity.

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Lipari, the chief of the *Æolian* iſlands, which has ſeveral good havens.

Cornificius, being much ſtreightened for want of proviſions, drew out his legions to provoke the enemy to fight: But *Pompey* would not hazard the fortune of a battle againſt troops who had nothing but their arms to truſt to, and whom he hoped to reduce by famine. It was there-

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therefore neceſſary that *Cornificius* ſhould abandon his camp: And, having placed thoſe who had eſcaped from the ſea-fight, and who were without arms in the midſt of the legions, he began to march towards *Mylæ*. In this deſperate undertaking his troops were not leſs obſtructed by the mountains and difficult ways they had to paſs, than by the enemy's cavalry and light-armed foot. *Appian* tells us that, on the fourth day, they came upon a burnt ſoil, which the *Sicilians* call the *Torrent of fire*, and which reaches from Mount *Ætna* to the ſea. Here the army ſuffered greatly, not only from an uncommon heat, but from a ſuffocating duſt and thirſt: And the enemy was alſo the more troubleſome, as theſe inconveniencies did not permit *Cornificius* to halt a moment in order to repel them. When they drew near to the ſtreights at the end of this burning ground, they found their enemies in poſſeſſion of them, and were forced to carry them ſword in hand; but when they ſaw before them other ſtreights, which were likewiſe guarded by freſh troops, they loſt heart, and made a ſtop, being quite ſpent with thirſt, heat, and fatigue; yet, encouraged by their Chief, who aſſured them there was a fountain cloſe by, they renewed the fight, and drove the enemy before them, not without very conſiderable loſs: But other enemies were ſtill maſters of the fountain, ſo that now they gave themſelves over to grief and deſpair. In this extremity, *Laronius* appeared at ſome diſtance with three legions, which *Agrippa*, according to *Octavius*'s orders, had

had ſent to their relief. The enemy, imagining that *Agrippa*'s whole convoy was at hand, deſerted the fountain; and the ſoldiers of *Cornificius* ran to it with the utmoſt precipitation, and, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of their officers, they drank ſo exceſſively that ſome of them died upon the ſpot. In this manner did *Cornificius* make good his retreat. *Octavius*, who had brought him into ſuch diſtreſs, loaded him and his troops with praiſes and rewards; and *Cornificius*, it is ſaid, was ſo proud of his ſucceſs, that, when he went to *Rome*, he never ſupped abroad, but he returned mounted upon an elephant, in commemoration of this dangerous expedition. Dio, l. xlix.

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The taking of *Tyndaris*, which was effected by *Agrippa*, laid the iſland open to *Octavius*, who immediately tranſported into it twenty-one legions, twenty thouſand horſe, and five thouſand light-armed troops. Then *Lepidus*, who hitherto had kept near *Lilibæum*, advanced into the country; and the two Triumviri united their forces before the walls of *Meſſana*.

Pompey, ſeeing himſelf overpowered at land, and his affairs in a declining poſture, and fearing, in conſequence of that, the deſertion of his officers and ſoldiers, was deſirous to decide the quarrel by a general battle; and challenged *Octavius* to a ſea-fight with three hundred ſhips on a ſide. *Octavius* did not think it proper to refuſe the challenge [a]; and, the day being agreed

[a] *Dio*, l. xlix. p. 397, tells us, that *Octavius*, though he war

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greed upon, the two fleets met in good order between *Mylæ* and *Naulocus*. *Agrippa* commanded the fleet of *Octavius*; and *Democharès* and *Apollophanes* that of *Pompey*. The battle was fierce, and the victory for a long time doubtful. At laſt *Agrippa* prevailed, and chiefly by means of the grappling-iron which he had prepared. It was a ſtrong ſhaft, five cubits long, bound about with iron, with a ring of the ſame metal in each end. In the one was the hook of iron; in the other, ſmall ropes were made faſt, which were commanded by a windlaſs in the ſhip. When an enemy's veſſel therefore approached to do miſchief, the iron-hook was forcibly darted againſt it from a machine. If it ſtuck, the windlaſs inſtantly played, and before the iron-ſhod ſhaft, or the ropes could be cut, the veſſel attacked was drawn cloſe to the other and boarded. Of the 300 *Pompeian* ſhips, but 17 eſcaped. This great victory was purchaſed with the loſs only of three ſhips, according to *Dio*. *Democharès*, ſeeing his ſhip in the power of the enemy, killed himſelf; *Apollophanes*, *Pompey*'s other Admiral, who could have made off, delivered himſelf up.

l. xlix. p. 398.

was ſenſible that *Pompey* would be ſoon in very great diſtreſs, conſented to give battle on the account of the uneaſineſs *Lepidus* gave him; who, pretending to an equality of command, and not having been treated by his collegue with the reſpect he thought due to him, had opened a negociation with *Pompey*. If ſo, he had a very good reaſon to accept of *Pompey*'s challenge; for at ſea *Lepidus* would have no ſhare in the battle, and nothing was to be feared from his ill humour.

The

The land-army, commanded by *Titiſienus*, ſurrendered, upon this defeat, to *Octavius*; and this defection made *Pompey* determine immediately to leave the iſland. Having therefore put on board his 17 ſhips all that he had that was valuable, he ſailed for *Aſia, hoping to find protection from Antony, in requital of that which he had given to his mother Julia, and many of his friends.* But before he ſet out he ſent for *Plennius*, one of his Lieutenants, who had under his command eight legions. *Plennius* obeyed his orders; but, not arriving till *Pompey* was gone, he threw himſelf into *Meſſana*; which was ſoon beſieged in form by the armies of the two Triumvirs; the one commanded by *Agrippa*, the other by *Lepidus*. *Plennius*, ſeeing it was madneſs to make any reſiſtance, ſent Deputies to the two Generals to treat of a capitulation: *Agrippa* deſired that the affair ſhould be deferred till the next day, when *Octavius* would be preſent; but *Lepidus* received them upon terms, and, to get the army of *Plennius* into his own poſſeſſion, gave them an equal ſhare in the plunder of the city, which was that very night ſacked by both armies. This weak man, finding himſelf now at the head of an army of two and twenty legions, conceived hopes, and laid a deſign of ſeizing upon *Sicily*[b]: He groun-

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[b] *Lepidus* inflatus amplius xx legionum numero, in id furoris proceſſerat, ut inutilis in alienâ victoriâ comes, quam diu moratus erat, diffidendo in conſiliis Cæſaris, et ſemper diverſa iis, quæ aliis placebant, dicendo; totam victoriam ut ſuam interpretabatur, audebatque denunciare Cæſari, excederet Silicia. Vell. Pat. ii. 80.

ded

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ded his right to it upon his firſt landing in the iſland, and having taken more cities than his collegue: Wherefore he gave command to his garriſons not to receive any troops, but his own; and ſeized upon all the paſſages. *Octavius*, on his arrival the next day, ſent ſome of his friends to *Lepidus*, to make his complaint of theſe proceedings, and to repreſent to him, that he was not invited into the iſland to conquer it for himſelf, but to give aſſiſtance as an ally in a war already begun. *Lepidus* anſwered by a reciprocal complaint, that *Octavius* and *Antony* had deprived him unjuſtly of his part of the Empire, and that he was ready to give up both *Africa* and *Sicily*, if they would reſtore him his ſhare. *Octavius*, incenſed at this anſwer, went himſelf to reproach him with his ingratitude and folly; and they parted after mutual threats, and from that inſtant they kept each of them a ſtricter guard; and *Octavius* ordered his ſhips to anchor at a diſtance from the port, pretending that *Lepidus* had a deſign to burn them. Their rupture was now open and declared; and the foundation ſeemed to be laid of a new civil war; but *Octavius*, who entertained no high opinion of his rival, thought it only neceſſary to employ art to ruin him. The ſoldiers of *Lepidus* were diſguſted with him for having allowed the legions of *Pompey* a ſhare in the plunder of *Meſſana*, and they deſpiſed him as a General: And *Octavius*, well informed of their ſentiments, ſent underhand his agents to gain them over to his intereſt. Having, by means of theſe, ſounded their

their officers, and found them in the temper he wiſhed, he ſuddenly appeared before the trenches of his collegue's camp with a ſtrong body of cavalry; and, leaving behind the greateſt part of theſe, he entered it with a few attendants, and, proceeding through it, he took all he met to witneſs his good diſpoſitions, and that he was forced to make war againſt his will[c]. A great many of *Lepidus*'s ſoldiers ſaluted him Emperor, and *Pompey*'s troops, who did not think themſelves ſecure till their pardon was ratified by him, teſtified their inclination to go over to him. *Lepidus*, informed of the tumult, advanced with ſome troops to check it, and, charging thoſe who accompanied *Octavius*, one of them was killed, and *Octavius* himſelf received an arrow in his corſlet. Inſtantly he withdrew to his body of horſe; and, being derided in his flight by the guard of one of the forts of *Lepidus*'s camp, he inſtantly attacked it and carried it by force. This example intimidated the Commanders of the other forts, which flanked the camp of *Lepidus*, or at leaſt ſerved them for a pretence; and all of them at that time, or during the night,

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[c] *Velleius Paterculus* ſays, that *Octavius* carried off with him the ſtandard of a legion, and was followed by the whole army of *Lepidus*.

Dio ſays nothing of this negociation, and tells us that *Octavius*, having appeared in *Lepidus*'s camp with a deſign of debauching his ſoldiers, was diſappointed in his hopes, and obliged to withdraw ſpeedily to his troops; and that then he drew out his whole army, and ſurrounded *Lepidus*'s camp; which motion determined the officers and ſoldiers to deſert their General.

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ſurrendered to *Octavius*; ſome of them on a ſimple ſummons, and others after having ſuffered a ſlight attack. *Lepidus* threatened and ſoothed them by turns, but to no purpoſe. His cavalry were the laſt to forſake him, but, to make amends for their delay, they ſent to *Octavius* to aſk, whether they ſhould bring *Lepidus* dead or alive. *Lepidus*, ſeeing himſelf entirely abandoned, put on the habit of a ſupplicant, and went to throw himſelf at *Cæſar*'s feet. The young Triumvir roſe up to receive him, and would not ſuffer him to fall on his knees before him; but, having reduced him to the ſtate of a private man, he baniſhed him to *Circæum*, where he remained without any power or dignity.

Thus fell *Lepidus*, one of the heads of the triumvirate. Ancient writers have repreſented him [d] as a vain, weak man, whom a fortuitous concourſe of circumſtances had raiſed to ſupreme power, without any of the qualities which are neceſſary to ſupport the weight of it: Yet the ſeveral employments which he bore under *Cæſar*, that of Governor of the city, of Conſul, and of Maſter of the Horſe, ſhew that he was not judged by him to be without capacity. His behaviour after *Cæſar*'s death was more ſpirited than *Antony*'s: He ſeized upon the High-Prieſthood, and would inſtantly have revenged his friend's death, if he had not been reſtrained by the Conſul. His union with *Antony*, after his

[d] Vir omnium vaniſſimus, nec ullâ virtute tam longam fortunæ indulgentiam meritus. *Vell.* xi. 80.

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defeat at *Mutina*, and the coalition formed by him of the *Cæſarean* Chiefs, was well concerted, and gave his party the ſuperiority, at the ſame time that it procured for himſelf a ſhare in the Empire of the world. Indeed, in the ſtation of Triumvir, he behaved weakly, and was the jeſt of his collegues, whoſe intereſt with the ſoldiers, and qualifications for command, were much ſuperior to his; but in this laſt ſcene he appeared the moſt deſpicable of men; and, if his life was granted him, it is obvious that the contempt of his weakneſs was alone his ſecurity. Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 35. 436 Con.

Octavius reaped the whole advantage of the ruin of *Sextus* and *Lepidus*: He ſeized upon *Sicily* and *Africa* as his property; and ſaw himſelf Maſter of all the Weſtern world; at the head of an army of five-and-forty legions, twenty-five thouſand horſe, and thirty-ſeven thouſand light-armed troops; and of a fleet conſiſting of ſix hundred ſail. But, in this height of power, he was ſoon made ſenſible of his dependence upon the ſoldiery, and warned very opportunely to gain the affection of his ſubjects by his prudent conduct and moderation. Before he left *Sicily*, notwithſtanding the recompences he beſtowed upon his ſoldiers, and his promiſes of much greater, his own proper troops mutinied and demanded their immediate diſcharge, with the ſame reward they had received after the battle of *Philippi*. *Octavius* repeated his promiſes of rewarding them honourably and equally with thoſe who were now ſerving under *Antony*, and at the ſame time re-

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preſented to them, with ſome threats, the fault they committed againſt the laws of war, and againſt the oath they had taken. Seeing his remonſtrances had no effect, but that they grew more inſolent, he forbore threatening, and told them that he would diſcharge them as ſoon as *Antony* returned, aſſuring them he would no more employ them in civil wars, which, by the favour of the gods, were extinct; but that he would lead them againſt foreign nations, from whom they would all return rich: To which they told him plainly, that they would ſerve no longer, unleſs he preſently gave them thoſe rewards and honours which their paſt labours deſerved. He anſwered, that, as to honours, they ſhould be rewarded with them immediately; for, beſides the crowns he had already diſtributed, he had others to beſtow among every legion, and to the Centurions and Tribunes he would give robes of purple, with the rank of Senators in the towns where they were born. He was interrupted here by one of the Tribunes, who, raiſing his voice, cried out, that crowns and robes of purple were only fit to amuſe children, but that ſoldiers expected more ſubſtantial things, money and lands. *Octavius* perceiving that the whole aſſembly applauded this inſolent ſpeech, he in a rage went down from his tribunal, and left the Tribune to glory in his proweſs, and receive the congratulation of the ſoldiers. The audacious Tribune, however, diſappeared that night, and was no more heard of. This accident made them more circumſpect, and no particular officer or ſol-

ſoldier dared to diſtinguiſh himſelf; but they aſ- Y. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.
ſembled in troops, and perſiſted in their demands.

Octavius, ſeeing that all his endeavours to pacify them were vain, diſmiſſed thoſe, who had ſerved at *Mutina* and *Philippi*, to the number of twenty thouſand; and, leſt they ſhould nouriſh a ſpirit of ſedition in the iſland, he ſhipped them off immediately. As ſoon as they were gone, he aſſembled his army, and took them for witneſſes of the perjury of the others, whom he called deſerters, becauſe they had forced a diſcharge from him; and he declared that he never would take them back to his ſervice again. He then praiſed their fidelity for remaining with him, and, having told them, that they might ſoon hope for repoſe and ſettlements, he diſtributed to each of them five hundred drachmas, which he raiſed About 161. by a tax upon the *Sicilians*.

Matters being thus quieted in *Sicily*, *Octavius* ſent back to *Antony* the ſhips he had borrowed from him, and returned to *Rome* to receive the honours, which the Senate, in conſequence of his ſucceſs, had decreed to him. The whole body of the Senators, with garlands of flowers upon their heads, as a ſign of joy and congratulation, went a great way out of the city to meet him, and he entered it with the modeſt pomp of an ovation, on the ides of *November*. Beſides receiving this honour, he conſented that an annual feſtival ſhould be inſtituted in memory of his victory; and that a gilded ſtatue ſhould be ſet up to him in the Forum, in a triumphal ha-

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bit, having its pedeſtal adorned with the prows of veſſels, and bearing this inſcription: *To Cæſar, for having reſtored peace to Rome, a long time diſturbed both by ſea and land.*

It was now the chief concern of *Octavius* to gain the eſteem and love of the people. He publicly burnt all *Pompey*'s papers, and all thoſe that might be monuments of their diviſions, ſignifying to all the world, that he was willing to forget what was paſt. In the diſtribution of lands which he had to make to his veterans, he conducted himſelf with the ſtricteſt equity; the funds appropriated to them belonging either to the Republic, or being fairly purchaſed from private perſons or corporations. The colony of *Capua*, being very thinly inhabited, and poſſeſſing on that account, in common, a large extent of ground which never belonged to any particular proprietor; he there eſtabliſhed a part of his veterans; and, to ſatisfy the colony, he gave them, in the iſland of *Crete*, funds of a greater produce, and which brought them in twelve hundred thouſand ſeſterces a year; and he alſo added a great and uſeful ornament to the town of *Capua* itſelf by making an aqueduct to ſupply them with water. *Rome* and all *Italy* being, at this time, greatly infeſted by thieves and robbers, who had formed themſelves into companies, and were become very formidable, he gave it in charge to *Sabinus* to put a ſtop to this evil, and the whole race of them were deſtroyed in one year. It was now alſo that he began thoſe great edifices, for the ornament of *Rome*, which have illuſtrated his

Near ten thouſand pounds.

reign.

reign. In fine, he gave them hopes, that he would ſoon lay down, with the conſent of his collegue, his *triumviral* authority, and reſtore the Commonwealth: And the Senate, to engage him to keep his word, offered to create him perpetual Tribune; a magiſtracy, which, while it rendered his perſon ſacred and inviolable, would have deprived him of all command in the army: But this propoſal he neither accepted nor rejected. Y.R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

CHAP. V.

ANTONY's *behaviour in* the Eaſt: *His inglorious expedition againſt the* Parthians. SEXTUS POMPEY's *behaviour in* Aſia, *and his death.*

WHILE *Octavius* was thus increaſing his power, and gaining the affections and eſteem of the ſoldiers and people, *Antony* was waſting his beſt troops in an inglorious war, and gathering nothing but contempt and the public hatred by the moſt extravagant behaviour. He had no ſooner left *Italy* and loſt ſight of *Octavia*, than his love for *Cleopatra*, which had lain quiet in his breaſt ſo long, gathered ſtrength again, and, upon his approach to *Syria*, he immediately ſent *Fonteius Capito* to conduct her to him. She ſoon arrived, and, as if he meant to make her a reparation for his paſt coolneſs, he granted her all her ambitious demands. He added to her kingdom *Phœnicia*, a part of *Judæa*, and a part of *Arabia-Fælix*. All theſe countries were poſſeſſed by ſeveral petty Princes, under the protection

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of the *Romans*; and ſome of theſe ſhe engaged *Antony* to put to death, as being in the intereſt of the *Parthians*. He alſo yielded up to her the rights of the Republic over the iſland of *Cyprus* and the town of *Cyrene* on the *Libyan* coaſt, both which had formerly belonged to the crown of *Egypt*. He did not, however, forget his grand project againſt the *Parthians*, and employed this whole year in making preparations for war. His Lieutenants, in his abſence, *Soſius* in *Syria* [e], and *Canidius Gallus*, towards the *Caſpian* ſea, had prepared his way, and gained great reputation to his arms.

The crown of *Parthia* was now poſſeſſed by *Phraates* [f]. His father *Orodes*, after bewailing the

[e] The chief exploit of this Commander was the taking of *Jeruſalem*, in conjunction with *Herod*, after a ſiege of five months. Moſt of the inhabitants were put to the ſword, without diſtinction of either age or ſex, not ſo much by the *Roman* ſoldiers, whom ſo long and obſtinate a defence had greatly incenſed, as by the mercileſs diſpoſitions of the *Jews*, under *Herod's* command, who, prompted by the rage of party, gave no quarter to their unfortunate countrymen. *Antigonus*, the author of this war, which had now laſted a year, gave himſelf up into the hands of *Soſius*, who ſent him in chains to *Antioch*, where he was ſoon after, through *Herod's* intrigues, tried for his life, beaten with rods, and beheaded. Such was the end of the laſt Prince of the *Aſmonean* line, which had poſſeſſed the high-prieſthood, together with the ſovereign power, for upwards of one hundred and twenty years.

[f] *Strabo*, l. xi. p. 360, tells us, that the hiſtory of this war was written by one *Adelphius*, who commanded a body of troops in this expedition: And it may be obſerved, that ſeveral learned men have thought that this *Adelphius* is *Dellius*, who

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the death of his beloved ſon *Pacorus*, had made choice of him to ſucceed him, as the eldeſt of his thirty ſons. This young Prince was no ſooner declared heir to the crown, than he ſtrangled his father, and put to death all his brothers. Even the eldeſt of his own ſons was ſacrificed to his jealouſy. Many of the *Parthian* nobility, alarmed at ſuch monſtrous cruelty, fled into the neighbouring ſtates; and *Moneſes*, one of the moſt illuſtrious and powerful of them, deſerted to the *Romans*. *Antony* was at this time in *Italy* at too great a diſtance to take advantage of theſe diſturbances; and *Soſius*, who commanded in *Syria*, had learnt, from the example of *Ventidius*, not to court a glory which might ſurpaſs that of his General. But *Antony*, upon his return into *Syria*, gave *Moneſes* the moſt honourable reception, and, calling to mind the manner *Themiſtocles* had been treated by the *Perſian* Monarch [z], he made over to him three towns, *Lariſſa*, *Arethuſa*, and *Hierapolis*, for his maintenance, and even promiſed him the throne of *Parthia*; hoping to profit greatly in his expedition, by the intereſt and capacity of that nobleman. *Phraates*, however, being ſenſible how much ſuch a man had it in his power to hurt him, ſent him ſuch aſſurances of his favour, and made him ſuch pro-

who was an hiſtorian, and accompanied *Antony* into *Armenia*, in 720, and was ſent twice to negotiate with *Artabazes*. Dio, l. xlix.

[z] *Artaxerxes* is reported to have given three towns to *Themiſtocles*, one for his bread, one for his wine, and a third for his meat.

miſes,

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miſes, that he again returned to his Sovereign. *Antony* did not think proper to ſtop him, as he had in view to amuſe the *Parthian* Monarch by the hopes of peace; and, with *Moneſes*, he ſent Ambaſſadors to begin a negotiation, demanding nothing more than the reſtitution of the colours and priſoners taken from *Craſſus*. But he did not wait for an anſwer, and, taking leave of *Cleopatra*, he advanced towards *Armenia*, where he had appointed the general rendezvous of his troops [h].

Artabazes,

[h] *Dio* ſays, that he would willingly have taken a ſhorter way into *Parthia* over the *Euphrates*, but that he found *all the paſſages well guarded.* Concerning thoſe paſſages there are ſome curious lines in the celebrated performance of the Preſident *Monteſquieu*: "*Trajan*, ſays he, accompliſhed "*Cæſar*'s project of invading the *Parthians*, and was very ſuc- "ceſsful in his wars with that mighty people: Any Monarch "but himſelf would have ſunk under the weight of ſuch an "enterpriſe, where danger was always preſent, and from "whence the neceſſary ſource of his ſupplies was at a vaſt "diſtance; in a word, where he could not be ſure *victory it-* "*ſelf would ſave him from deſtruction.* The difficulty con- "ſiſted in the ſituation of the two empires, and the military "diſcipline of both nations. If he directed his march through "*Armenia* towards the ſources of the *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, "he was ſure to be incommoded with a mountainous and "impracticable country, through which no convoy of pro- "viſion could paſs, ſo that the army would be quite de- "ſtroyed before they could penetrate into *Media*." [Why then is *Craſſus* ſo much blamed by all the hiſtorians for not taking this road, and why is *Antony* in the preſent expedition only cenſured for ſetting out ſo late and leaving behind him his engines?] "On the other, if he ſhould ſtrike out a "lower track towards the South, through *Niſibis*, he would "find himſelf bewildered in a ghaſtly deſert that ſeparated the

two

Artabazes, King of *Armenia*, the ſon of *Tigranes*, was then in alliance with the *Romans*, and in war with another *Artabazes*, King of the *Atropatenian Medes* [i], an ally of *Phraates*. *Antony* Y.R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

" two empires; and, if he proceeded ſtill lower, and marched " through *Meſopotamia*, he was then to croſs a large country " that was either uncultivated or laid under water; and, as " the *Tygris* and *Euphrates* flowed from North to South, he " could not gain a paſſage into the country without quitting " thoſe rivers, which, if he did, he muſt inevitably periſh. " ——As to the manner practiſed by the two nations in " making war, the ſtrength of the *Romans* conſiſted in their " infantry, which was the moſt firm and beſt diſciplined bo- " dy of ſoldiers in the world. The *Parthians*, on the con- " trary, had no infantry, but then their horſe were admirable, " and always combated at ſuch a diſtance as placed them " out of the reach of the *Roman* army, and the javelin was " ſeldom launched far enough to wound them. Their " own weapons conſiſted of a bow and many formidable " ſhafts, and they rather beſieged an army than gave it battle; " they were purſued to no purpoſe in their flight, for that " was the ſame to them as an engagement,—They *carried* " *off all the inhabitants* of the country, and only left garri- " ſons in their fortified places, and, when theſe were taken, " the conquerors were obliged to deſtroy them—The *Par-* " *thians*, likewiſe, *ſet fire to all the country* that lay round the " *Roman* army, and did not leave them the leaſt blade of her- " bage. In a word, they managed their wars in a manner " very like that which is now practiſed on the ſame fron- " tiers." But, if the *Parthians* were invincible for all theſe reaſons, how did *Trajan* conquer them?

[i] *Media* was diſtinguiſhed into *Great Media*, and the *Atropatenian*. The firſt, whoſe capital was *Ecbatana*, was under the dominion of the *Parthian* Monarch. *Media Atropatenia* was a province of the old kingdom of the *Medes*, and took its name from *Atropatros*, who had preſerved it from the *Macedonian* yoke. *Atropatros*, in acknowledgment of his good ſer-

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tony came, therefore, as it were, to ſuccour the King of *Armenia*, but his real intention was well known. His forces, when reviewed, conſiſted of ſixty thouſand legionaries, ten thouſand *Spaniſh* and *Gallic* horſe, and thirty thouſand auxiliary light-armed troops[k]; to which *Artabazes* was to add ſix thouſand horſe and ſeven thouſand foot. As his army, by taking a great circuit, had made a march of a thouſand miles, and ſummer was very much advanced before he got to the borders of *Media*, he was adviſed to take up his winter quarters in *Armenia*, and not begin the campaign till the next ſpring; but, being confident that nothing could reſiſt the impreſſion of ſo great an army, and being deſirous to get back to *Cleopatra*, he paſſed the *Araxes* to go and lay ſiege to *Praaſpa*[l], the capital of *Atropatenia*, where the King's wives and children were; and, to march the more expeditiouſly, he left behind him on the borders of *Media* all his machines of war, under the guard of two legions commanded by *Oppius Statianus*. The allied Kings of *Parthia* and *Media* marched towards the beſieged, but, underſtanding that *Antony* had left his machines behind, they immediately turned off towards the place where *Oppius* was incamped, and, ſurpriſing him, cut his two legions in pieces, and broke

ſervice, was elected King: And the ſucceſſion was continued down in his poſterity till the time of *Strabo*.

[k] *Velleius* ſays thirteen legions. *Florus*, l. iv. c. 10. and *Juſtin*, xlii. 5, ſixteen; and *Livy*, *Epit.* l. xxx, eighteen legions, and ſixteen thouſand horſe.

[l] It is probably the town called *Vera* by *Strabo*.

or

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or burnt all the machines. *Oppius* himſelf was killed, and, of the whole army, *Polemon*, alone, King of *Pontus*, eſcaped, having bribed the *Parthians*, by the hopes of a great ranſom. This diſaſter quite diſcouraged *Antony*'s allies, and *Artabazes*, King of *Armenia*, who had been the principal cauſe of the war, giving over all the hopes he had conceived of the *Romans*, marched home with all his troops. The victorious *Parthians* ſoon appeared before *Praaſpa*, and, having thrown ſuccours into the town, inſolently upbraided and threatened the *Romans*. *Antony*, apprehending, if he ſuffered theſe inſults, and left his troops in inaction, that his men would ſoon be diſheartened, reſolved to endeavour to bring about a general action; and, with this view, drew out of his lines ten legions, three prætorian cohorts, and all his cavalry, as for a general forage, hoping that the enemy would follow him and give him an opportunity of engaging with them. After one day's march, the *Parthians* appeared, ranged in the form of a creſcent, near the road he was to paſs. *Antony*, to deceive his enemies, and induce them to keep their poſt, cauſed his tents to be ſtruck, as if he deſigned to continue his march, and not to engage. He then ordered his men to file off, directing the cavalry to charge, as ſoon as the legions were near enough to ſupport them. The cavalry executed his orders punctually, and cloſed ſo ſuddenly with the enemy, that they could make no uſe of their arrows: But they kept their ground till the *Roman* infantry, coming on with great ſhouts, and ſtriking

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ing their ſhields, forced them to retire. *Antony* hoped that this battle would end the war, or, at leaſt, make a conſiderable progreſs towards his intended conqueſt; but, after having purſued the enemy for ſix miles with his infantry, and ſent his cavalry after them thrice as far, he found that he had not killed above an hundred of them, and had taken only fifty priſoners. This ſucceſs was but a ſmall compenſation for the loſs he had ſuſtained of his two legions and artillery, and he became very ſenſible of the diſadvantages with which he made a war againſt an enemy who could not be forced to an engagement.

The next day *Antony* having prepared to return to *Praaſpa*, the *Parthians* appeared again; at firſt in a ſmall body; but, their numbers increaſed gradually; and, at laſt their whole army, being aſſembled, they harraſſed his troops during their march by briſk and frequent attacks, and it was with great trouble and danger that he regained his camp. During his abſence the beſieged had made a ſucceſsful ſally and broke down a part of the mound, which had been raiſed with great labour. *Antony*, irritated at this bad ſucceſs, decimated the cohorts, who had been upon ſervice, and gave them barley inſtead of wheat. The war now became troubleſome to both parties, and each feared more grievous conſequences. For *Antony*, ſurrounded on all ſides, could ſend no troops abroad in queſt of forage, without the loſs of many of his people; and *Phraates* knew well it would be very difficult to engage his men to keep the field in the winter-

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ſeaſon. Wherefore this Monarch made uſe of the following artifice to get rid of his enemy. By his order, the Commanders of the *Parthians*, inſtead of acting with their uſual vigour againſt the *Romans* in their forages, affected a gentle behaviour, and, while they allowed them to get proviſions, took the opportunity to extol their valour, and to blame *Antony* for not making peace with their Monarch, and ſparing the lives of ſo many gallant men, whom famine and cold would ſoon deſtroy, though they had no enemy to fight with. This being ſeveral times reported to *Antony*, he cauſed inquiry to be made, whether the *Parthians* had been commiſſioned to hold theſe diſcourſes with his men; and, being aſſured that they were, he determined to ſend ſome of his friends to the King; and, to ſave his honour in ſome meaſure, he charged them ſtill to demand the reſtitution of the *Roman* colours and priſoners. The King, according to *Dio*, received the Ambaſſadors ſeated upon a golden chair, and holding in his hand a bow, the ſtring of which he frequently drew. He rejected, as impertinent, the propoſition of reſtoring the priſoners and colours, and broke out into many reproaches againſt the *Romans*, which indeed they well deſerved; but withal told them that peace and a ſafe retreat ſhould be granted them, on condition they would ſpeedily depart. *Antony* was obliged to be content with what was granted him; and he determined to leave the country: But grief and ſhame would not permit him to ſpeak to the ſoldiers himſelf, and he commiſſioned

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miſſioned *Domitius Ahenobarbus* to harangue them in his name. His ſoldiers were ſenſible of the reaſons of his ſilence, and were thence engaged to obey him with the greater zeal. As he was preparing to return by the ſame way that he came, through the naked deſerts, a certain *Mardian* [m], of whoſe courage and fidelity the *Romans* had trial in the fight for the defence of the engines, and who was well acquainted with the *Parthian* manners, came to him and adviſed him to take his march by the foot of the mountains which lay on the right hand, and not to expoſe his army, loaden with arms, in vaſt plains, where they would be perpetually harraſſed by the attacks of an innumerable cavalry. He diſcovered to him the ſecret intentions of *Phraates*, who had no other deſign in treating with him but to ſeize a favourable opportunity of attacking his forces; and concluded with offering himſelf to be the guide of his march. *Antony*

[m] *Florus*, l. iv. 10. and *Paterc.* l. ii. 82, write, that he who gave this wholſome advice to *Antony* was one of the *Roman* priſoners, who ſerved then in the *Parthian* camp, and who, out of love for his countrymen, rode up to *Antony*'s trenches in the night, and gave this warning to the officer upon guard in Latin. They do not ſay whether he ſtaid with *Antony*: *Unus ex clade Craſſianâ Parthico habitu caſtris adequitat &, ſalute latinè datâ, quum fidem ipſo feciſſet, quid immineret edocuit: Jam adfuturum cum omnibus copiis regem: Irent retro peterentque montes: Sic quoque hoſtem fortaſſe non deſore.* Flor. Captivi cujuſdam Romani conſilio ac fide ſervatus, qui clade Craſſiani exercitûs captus, cum fortunam non animum mutâſſet, acceſſit nocte ad ſtationem Romanam, prædixitque ne deſtinatum iter peterent, ſed diverſo, ſylveſtrique pervaderent. *Vell. Pat.*

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followed his advice, but told him that he muſt conſent to be bound till he conducted the army ſafe into *Armenia*[n]. The army marched two days without any alarm, but, on the third, when *Antony* thought of nothing leſs than the *Parthians*, and the ſoldiers, upon the aſſurance of the peace, were in the greateſt ſecurity, the *Mardian*, eſpying the bank of a river newly broken, and the way by which they were to paſs overflowed, he judged the *Parthians* had done it to ſtop the march of the *Romans*; and, ſhewing it to *Antony*, he adviſed him to prepare to receive the enemy. The *Roman* General preſently marſhalled his army, leaving between the ranks intervals for the archers and ſlingers to make their diſcharges. At the ſame time the *Parthians* appeared, not doubting but they would eaſily ſurround the *Romans*, and entirely deſtroy them: But the light-armed foot charged them ſo briſkly that they were forced to retreat; yet they ſeveral times returned and renewed the ſkirmiſh, till the *Gallic* horſe marched againſt them in a body, and treated them ſo roughly that they diſappeared for that day. This aſſault taught the *Roman* General how to receive them on the like occaſions. He made the army march in order of battle in four fronts, lining not only the rear, but likewiſe the flanks with archers and ſlingers, and

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[n] *Dio* obſerves that *Antony* was really deceived by this guide, and that he turned off from his beſt road to take a very difficult one, where it was eaſy for the *Parthians* to annoy him. But in this opinion he is unſupported by the authority of any other writer. Dio, l. iv. p. 409.

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giving orders to the horſe to be ready to repulſe the enemy, if they drew near, but not to purſue them. This method was effectual; the *Parthians* followed them four days, and were conſtantly beat off with loſs; which made them reſolve to give over the purſuit, making the ground of their departure to be the approaching winter. But, unluckily, the day before they were to march back, *Flavius Gallus*, one of *Antony*'s braveſt officers, requeſted a greater number of the light-armed foot for defence of the rear-guard, and ſome part of the cavalry from the wings, promiſing to atchieve ſomething conſiderable. Having obtained his deſire, he ſet himſelf, contrary to orders, to chace back a body of the enemy who came forward to ſkirmiſh. The Commanders of the rear-guard ſent in vain to warn him of the danger he ran of being ſurrounded and cut off from the reſt of the army. He was deaf to their admonitions, and, eagerly puſhing forward, found himſelf beſet on all ſides, and galled by ſhowers of arrows. He was then forced to ſend for aid; and the Colonels of the legions in the rear-guard and *Canidius*, who commanded there, inſtead of marching with all their force to reſcue him, ſent only a few cohorts to ſupport him, and theſe were followed by a few more; a method which, if it had been continued, would have occaſioned the rout of the whole army. *Antony* himſelf was obliged to bring on ſpeedily the whole van-guard: And this put an effectual ſtop to the attack of the enemy. The *Romans* loſt no leſs than three thouſand men

men in this engagement, and five thouſand were brought off wounded: *Gallus* himſelf was pierced with four arrows and died ſoon after. *Antony* behaved on this occaſion as a worthy General: He viſited the wounded, and gave them unfeigned proofs of his affection; and they in return made light of their misfortune, begging him to take care of his own life, and declaring that their wounds were all healed, while they ſaw him well. Y.R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

The *Parthians*, who had before deſpaired of ruining the *Roman* army, were ſo encouraged by this unexpected ſucceſs, that, contrary to their cuſtom, they remained on horſeback all the night, near the *Roman* camp, in expectation of plundering it the next morning; not doubting but the *Romans* would abandon their baggage, as an impediment in their flight. But they were greatly diſappointed when they ſaw the camp ſtruck, every thing carried off, and the army marching in the beſt order: And more ſo when, coming on fiercely, they found a greater alacrity and ardour in the *Roman* ſoldiers to repel them than they had hitherto experienced. They continued, however, their purſuit; and one day, as they galled the *Romans* with their arrows, the legionaries facing about, and receiving the light-armed troops into the ranks, ſet their knees to the ground, and, with their bucklers, formed a tortoiſe, upon which the *Parthian* arrows ſlided off, without doing any execution. The *Parthians*, not doubting but the *Romans* had taken that poſture through wearineſs, came on to attack

Plut. Flor. iv. 10. Front. l. ii. Stratag. c. iii.

Y. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

tack them with their pikes; but the legionaries, riſing all at once, and giving a dreadful ſhout, flew upon them, mowed down the foremoſt ranks, and put the reſt to flight. The *Romans* had the ſame operation to repeat for ſome days afterwards, which of courſe greatly retarded their march.

The army was now alſo greatly afflicted with famine; for the ſoldiers, employed conſtantly in fighting with the enemy, could not range about for proviſions. The ſcarcity was ſo great, that a buſhel of wheat was ſold for fifty drachmas, and barley-bread for its weight in ſilver. The ſoldiers were therefore forced to live upon fruits; and we are told that they unluckily fell upon an herb which proved fatal to numbers of them. Thoſe who eat of it loſt their underſtanding and memory, and fell to turning and removing all the ſtones they met with, as if employed in ſome ſerious work; and at laſt died by the vomiting of pure bile. Wine, it was thought, was the only cure for this diſorder, but there was none left in the camp: And, on this occaſion, *Dio* ſays that many of the *Roman* ſoldiers deſerted to the enemy, and that many more would have followed the example, if the *Parthians* had not barbarouſly, and in ſight of the *Roman* army, pierced with their arrows all thoſe who had truſted to them. *Antony*, ſeeing ſo many of his men falling off, and the *Parthians* ſtill at his heels, often cried out, *Oh the ten thouſand!* admiring thoſe ten thouſand, who, under the command of *Xenophon*, marched a much longer way, making their retreat from the

Dio, xlix. p. 409.

the plains of *Babylon* to the ſea, and having to do with a much more powerful enemy. Y. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

The *Parthians*, ſeeing that it was impoſſible for them to ſtop the march of the *Romans* in the road they ſo ſteadily purſued, had again recourſe to artifice. They began to take all opportunities of diſcourſing with their enemies, and, unbending their bows, they drew near to thoſe who went in queſt of forage; telling them, that they were ſatisfied with the revenge they had taken, and were now upon their return home; and indeed for two days they were followed only by a few *Medes*, who did not offer to moleſt them, but appeared to have no other view than to protect ſome villages in the country. *Antony*, tired with ſo long a march in ſo difficult a road, was much inclined to take an eaſier one through a plain which now preſented itſelf, where he was told he would meet with every commodity; but a relation of *Moneſes*, by name *Mithridates*, came to the camp, and deſired to ſpeak with one who could talk either the *Parthian* or *Syrian* language. *Alexander*, of the city of *Antioch*, a man whom the General could put his confidence in, was ſent to the *Parthian*; who told him that *Moneſes*, in acknowledgment of the favours he had received from the *Roman* General, had ſent him to give the army warning to be ſtill upon their guard, and to continue their way along the mountains, where they would only encounter with the inconvenience of the want of water for one day; whereas, if they ſhould croſs the plain, the whole *Parthian* army being poſted in ambuſh

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between the hills beyond it, *Antony* might meet probably with the fate of *Craſſus*. The *Parthian*, after this kind warning, inſtantly departed. *Antony* ſent for the *Mardian* guide to have his opinion: The *Mardian* told him, that, though there were no enemies in the plains, yet it would be difficult to find their way in a deſert, and that he would meet with ſeveral difficult paſſes. Orders were therefore given to the ſoldiers to furniſh themſelves with water; and, becauſe veſſels were wanting, the ſoldiers filled their head-pieces, and ſome ſkins which they ſewed together. They then ſet out, though it was night; and they marched 30 miles without ſtopping. The *Parthians*, upon the firſt intelligence of this motion, had alſo, contrary to their cuſtom, ſet out in the night; and the next morning, by break of day, they were up with the rear-guard. The *Romans*, fatigued and diſpirited for want of ſleep, were greatly diſheartened at ſo unexpected an event; however, they bravely defended themſelves, and continued marching till they came to a river, the waters of which the *Mardian* guide forbad them to drink: But many of them paid no regard to his remonſtrances, nor to the intreaties of their General; and the waters, tho' clear and cool, were yet brackiſh and venomous, and ulcerated their bowels as ſoon as they were ſwallowed, and provoked an intolerable thirſt. A few hours march brought them however to another river, the waters of which they might drink in as great a quantity as they pleaſed, and in perfect ſafety. Here *Antony* deſigning to give his

his men ſome repoſe, as the ſoldiers were pitching their tents, *Mithridates* came again, called for *Alexander*, and ſent him to tell his General to march on with all ſpeed till he had paſſed the next river, which was the boundary the *Parthians* had ſet for their purſuit, and beyond which they would not go. *Antony* ſent the generous *Parthian* a preſent of ſeveral veſſels of gold, and, following his inſtructions, continued the march that whole day without the leaſt alarm: But the night was very tumultuous in the camp. Some of the ſoldiers agreed together to kill ſuch as they ſuſpected to have money, and rob them: And they plundered the baggage, and ſeized even on the military cheſt and their General's equipage, whoſe inlaid tables and cups ſet with jewels they broke in pieces and divided among them. The buſtle and confuſion was ſo great, that *Antony* could not imagine any thing leſs, than that the enemy had broken into the camp, and was ranſacking the baggage. He ſent for his freedman *Rhamnus* to run him through with his ſword, as ſoon as he ſhould command it; and to cut off his head, leſt he ſhould fall into the power of the enemy, or be known when he was dead. While he and his friends were in this conſternation, an account was brought him, that all the tumult proceeded from the avarice of the ſoldiers, who had plundered one another: And the guide at the ſame time aſſured him, that the river, which was to be the end of their toils, was now very near. About break of day, the tumult being over, and every one having fallen into his

Y. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

Y. R. 717. Eſt. Chr. 35. 436 Conſ.

rank, the rear-guard felt again the *Parthian* arrow. The light-armed foot were therefore preſently ordered out againſt the enemy, and the legionaries formed the tortoiſe. The *Parthians*, ſeeing them prepared to receive them, durſt not approach, and the army moved on. The vanguard ſoon came to the banks of the wiſhed-for river: And, at the ſight of it, the *Parthians* unbent their bows, praiſed the valour and conduct of the *Romans*; and one of them, we are told, raiſing his voice, cried to them: *Farewell, Romans, retreat now without fear: It is with good reaſon that fame has publiſhed your glory, and that nations acknowledge you to be their conquerors; ſeeing that you have eſcaped the arrows of the Parthians**.

The *Romans* paſſed without moleſtation; and, after reſting themſelves at leiſure on the other bank, ſet forth on their march, not confiding too much on the words of the *Parthians*; and, in ſix days after their laſt fight, they arrived on the banks of the *Araxes*, where they expected to meet again with the enemy in croſſing a river which was both deep and rapid, but none appeared; and the army, having paſſed over into *Armenia*, felt the ſame joy as if they had gained a port after a violent ſtorm. The ſoldiers devoutly fell down proſtrate and worſhipped the land, and, riſing up, embraced and wept over one another. Here many of them

* Ita & bene valete, Romani, meritò vos victores gentium fama loquitur, qui Parthorum tela fugiſtis. Flor. iv. 10.

were

were leſs able to bear the plenty of every thing, than the hardſhips they had lately undergone: For, by overcharging their ſtomachs after faring ſo ill, numbers of them died of various diſorders. Y. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

Antony, upon a review of his army, found that he had loſt in this expedition, twenty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe [p], of which more than the one half died of ſickneſs. After raiſing the ſiege of *Praaſpa*, he had marched three hundred miles in one and twenty days, during which time, he had fought eighteen times with the *Parthians* with advantage: But theſe victories were to no purpoſe; for, not being able to purſue the enemy after he had routed them, they remained imperfect; which makes the hiſtorians reflect on the prejudice he received from the retreat of *Artabazes*, the *Armenian* King, whoſe troops were armed after the manner of the *Parthians*, and accuſtomed to fight with them. The *Parthians*, ſo many times overcome could never have rallied, if theſe troops had been with him to purſue the enemy. All *Antony*'s Captains, ſenſible of the injury done them by the *Armenian*, were deſirous that *Antony* ſhould puniſh his perfidy; but, in the preſent condition of his army, he thought it more expedient to diſſemble, and defer his vengeance till another time. The propereſt method would have been to have taken up his winter quarters in *Armenia*, having

[p] *Vell. Pat.* ſays, the fourth part of his ſoldiers, a third of the ſervants of the army, and all his baggage.

no

Y. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

no call any where elſe; and he would have been at hand to take his revenge alſo upon the *Parthians*; but he had nothing ſo much in his thoughts as the meeting with *Cleopatra*. He led therefore his army through ice and ſnow in the winter ſeaſon into *Syria*, and loſt in ſo painful a march eight thouſand more of his men [q]. But the ſlowneſs with which they proceeded kept not pace with the eagerneſs of his deſires; and, as ſoon as he could with any decency, he left them, and went on before to a fortreſs called *Leucoma*, upon the ſea-coaſt, between *Berytus* and *Sidon*. There waiting for the Queen of *Egypt*, he gave himſelf up to the exceſſes of eating and drinking; and would frequently, in the middle of a feaſt, ſtart from table, and run to the ſeaſide, to ſee whether he could not diſcover the veſſels which were to convey to him his *Cleopatra*. At laſt ſhe arrived, and brought with her cloaths and money for his troops. Though *Antony* had ſo little reaſon to be vain of his *Parthian* expedition, he yet wrote to *Rome* in the ſtyle of a conqueror, diſguiſing his loſſes, and magnifying his advantages; for which he

Plut. Ant. Liv. Epit. 130.

[q] It is probably this additional loſs which makes *Florus* ſay that *Antony* brought back to *Syria* but one third of his legions. *Dio*, xlix. 410, ſays that *Antony* not only made no reproaches to the *Armenian* King, but courted him in order to get money and proviſions from him; and that, his troops not being able to continue their march in ſo cold a ſeaſon, many of them were permitted to take up their winter-quarters in *Armenia*. *Antony*, he adds, obtained this favour of the King by his fair promiſes; and his real intention was in the ſpring to lead them back into *Parthia*.

well

well deſerved the reproaches which the flatterers of *Auguſtus* charged him with, for calling his *flight a victory*, and repreſenting himſelf as a conqueror for having eſcaped out of the hands of the enemy [1]. However, though they were well informed at *Rome* of the truth, the *Roman* vanity was concerned in ſupporting their General's accounts, and the Senate paſſed a decree of thankſgiving for ſo happy and glorious a ſucceſs. *Antony* ſoon removed with *Cleopatra* to *Alexandria*. Y. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Con.

L. Cornificius,
Sextus Pompeius [2], } Conſuls.

Antony was no ſooner arrived at *Alexandria*, than he received a meſſage from *Sextus Pompey*, who had been obliged to quit *Sicily*, about the time that *Antony* was forced to leave *Parthia*. The firſt land he made with the 17 veſſels remaining of his powerful fleet, was the promontory of *Lacinium*, in the ſouthern part of *Italy*, near *Crotona*, where he is ſaid to have acted the pirate, and to have taken out of the temple of *Juno Lacinia* offerings of ineſtimable value. From thence he ſailed ſucceſſively to the iſlands of *Corcyra*, *Caphalenia*, and *Leſbos*; and his firſt deſign was to paſs the winter in this laſt at *Mity-* Y. R. 718. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Con.

[1] Hanc *Antonius* fugam ſuam, quia vivus exierat, victoriam vocabat. Vell. Pat. ii. 82. Incredibili mentis vecordia, ferocior aliquanto factus eſt, quaſi viciſſet qui evaſerat. Flor. iv. 10.

[2] *Sextus Pompeius*, this year's Conſul, was deſcended of a diſtant branch of the *Pompeian* family.

lena,

Y. R. 718. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Con.

Appian.

lene, and wait for *Antony*'s return. But there, hearing by common report that *Antony* was defeated, he began to entertain hopes of recovering the power he had loſt, and of ſucceeding *Antony* in the dominion of the Eaſt, if he was dead; or of dividing the provinces with him, if he returned in diſgrace. The example of *Labienus*, who, with a name much leſs reſpected, had overrun all *Aſia*, greatly heightened theſe hopes. He therefore took again the military robe and enſigns of command, refitted his little navy, exerciſed his rowers, and inliſted into his ſervice all the vagabonds that preſented themſelves; and a great number of his own ſoldiers, who were deſtitute of all reſource, came flocking to him. The neceſſity he was under of defending himſelf againſt *Octavius*, and the deſire of aſſiſting *Antony*, were the pretences of his conduct. His deputies attended upon *Antony*, as ſoon as he was returned to *Alexandria*: And, at the ſame time, he privately diſpatched others towards the Princes of *Thrace* and *Pontus*, and even to the King of *Parthia*, being reſolved to retire to the Court of one of theſe Princes, in caſe *Antony*'s anſwer was not favourable. *Antony*, who ſaw through his deſigns, had already given orders to *M. Titius*, who commanded in thoſe parts, to oppoſe him with all his forces, at land and ſea, if he pretended to make any armament; but to conduct him honourably to *Alexandria*, if he ſubmitted in a peaceable manner. He therefore made no other anſwer to *Sextus*'s deputies, than that the orders

orders he had given *Titius* would ſoon diſcover what were the real ſentiments of him who ſent them. While they were earneſtly pleading for their maſter, *Pompey*'s envoys to the *Parthian* King were taken by *Antony*'s officers, and brought to *Alexandria*. *Sextus*'s deputies were greatly diſturbed at this unfortunate incident, yet they offered to excuſe him by obſerving that it was not ſurpriſing that a young man, reduced to the laſt extremity, and who had no ſecurity of *Antony*'s favour, ſhould ſeek a ſafe retreat where he could find it: But that, had he been well aſſured of *Antony*'s kindneſs towards him, he would certainly have had recourſe to no one elſe. Y. R. 718. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Con.

Pompey, in the mean time, had paſſed over into *Aſia*, where *Furnius*, ſeeing him behave in a peaceable manner, and having no orders from *Antony*, gave him no trouble: But when *Pompey* began to raiſe troops, and act the independent chief, *Furnius* immediately invited *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who commanded a body of troops in the neighbourhood, and *Amyntas*, King of the *Galatians*, to come to his aſſiſtance. It was ſoon found that *Pompey* had laid a ſcheme for making *Domitius* his priſoner, and had corrupted one of his domeſtics, who was to deliver him up. This domeſtic of *Domitius* was diſcovered, and put to death by the ſentence of a Council of war, and *Sextus*, on his ſide, revenged himſelf on *Theodorus*, one of his freedmen, whom alone he had made privy to this plot, and whom he therefore ſuſpected to have revealed it. This deſign not ſuc-

Y.R. 718. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Conſ.

ſucceeding, he loſt all hopes of deceiving *Furnius*, but he ſeized upon the town of *Lampſacus*, and, by bribes, engaged the citizens to declare for him; ſo that, ſeeing himſelf two hundred horſe and three legions ſtrong, he went and aſſaulted *Cyzicus* by ſea and land, but was both ways repulſed by *Antony*'s troops in the town, aſſiſted by the gladiators kept there for the entertainment of the public. He therefore returned to a place called the *port of the Achæans*, to provide himſelf in corn; whither *Furnius* followed him, without offering to fight; and, encamping always as near him as he could with a numerous cavalry, he hindered him from foraging the country, or beſieging towns. *Pompey*, however, had the boldneſs to aſſault his camp in front with one part of his forces, while the reſt, taking a compaſs, were ordered to fall on behind; and, while *Furnius* brought all his men to the open attack, his camp was forced by thoſe who attacked it on the oppoſite ſide, and the whole army put to the rout. All *Furnius*'s men fled through the plains of *Scamandria*, and, not being able to run very faſt, becauſe the ground was moiſtened by the rain, there was made a great ſlaughter of them: Thoſe who ſaved themſelves eſcaped into places of ſecurity, being too weak to make a ſtand, till ſuch time as new recruits were come from *Myſia*, *Propontis*, and other places. This victory gained him great reputation, and the country people, ruined with taxes, willingly joined him; and

and with their aſſiſtance he took *Nicea*, *Chalcedon*, and ſome other leſs important places. But ſtill, wanting horſe, he was often diſtreſſed in going to gather in corn and forage: Wherefore, upon intelligence that a body of *Italian* horſe were coming to *Antony*, which *Octavia*, who wintered at *Athens*, ſent him, he diſpatched ſome of his agents to corrupt them: But theſe ſuborners were ſeized by the commander of this body of horſe, who diſtributed the money among his troopers. Y. R. 713. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Conſ.

In the beginning of ſpring, there arrived at *Proconeſus* the ſeventy ſhips returned by *Octavius* to *Antony*, and, a little after, *Titius* brought thither from *Syria* ſixty ſhips more, with a conſiderable army. *Pompey* was ſenſible that his ſhips could ſerve him no longer; he therefore burnt them, and incorporated his rowers and ſailors into his land-forces. But it was now madneſs to make any reſiſtance either at land or ſea; and, having diſguſted his friends by his obſtinacy, he ſaw himſelf abandoned by *Caſſius of Parma*, *Naſidius*, *Saturninus*, *Thermus*, *Antiſtius*, and all the moſt conſiderable of his father's friends. *Fannius*, for whom he had the greateſt value, and *Libo*, his father-in-law, left him alſo; and, making their own compoſition, ſubmitted to *Antony*. Being thus deſerted, he advanced through the midland of *Bithynia*, with a deſign, it was thought, of getting into *Armenia*. *Furnius*, *Titius*, and *Amyntas*, who had now joined their forces, having notice that to this intent he had quitted his camp by night, followed him, and

V. R. 718. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Con.

made ſuch haſte, that they overtook him before night, and encamped ſeparately round him, without intrenching themſelves; becauſe it was late, and their men were tired with their march. *Pompey*, ſeeing them in this poſture, drew out three thouſand men, and charged them in the dark ſo briſkly, that, after killing great numbers of them, he forced moſt of the reſt to betake themſelves to flight half naked: So that, if he had fallen on with all his forces, or had but given them chace, he might have completed his victory; but he reaped no other fruit from ſo fair an opportunity, but the being enabled for a time to continue his march.

The enemy, having rallied, followed cloſe at his heels, and very ſorely harraſſed him; ſo that, being reduced by want of proviſions, he deſired a conference with *Furnius*, who had been his father's friend, and who was, by his dignity and merit, the moſt conſiderable of the three Commanders; and to that purpoſe went to the bank of a river that ran between them. He told him, that, having ſent deputies to *Antony*, and having in the mean time no proviſions, and no friends who could furniſh him with any, he had been forced to do what he had done: "But, "for your part, *Furnius*, added he, if it be "by *Antony*'s orders you make war upon me, "he is ill adviſed, not foreſeeing a war over his "own head; but, if it be of your own motion, "I beſeech you to expect the return of my de- "puties, or, if you chuſe it rather, I ſhall put "myſelf into your hands, (for in you I can

"con-

Y. R. 718. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Conſ.

" confide) provided you promiſe me, upon your " honour, to deliver me in ſafety to *Antony*." " To which *Furnius* anſwered, " that, if he had " any intention of ſubmitting to *Antony*, he " ought in perſon to have gone to him at firſt, " or have ſtaid for his anſwer at *Mitylene*. But " *Pompey*," continued he, " you deſigned war, " and have done all that you could to kindle " one; for why ſhould you deny things which " we certainly know? Yet, if you now repent, " conſider that there are three of us here who " command for *Antony*, and do not create any " jealouſy among us, but deliver yourſelf up to " *Titius*, who only has a commiſſion concerning " you. You may require of him the ſame ſe- " curity you do of me; for his orders are, if you " obſtinately hold out, to kill you; but, if you " ſubmit, to ſend you honourably to *Antony*." *Pompey*'s pride would not allow him to deliver himſelf up to a man of low extraction, who owed him the greateſt obligations for having preſerved his life, and, by the treaty of *Miſenum*, reſtored him to his country, and who yet had accepted the commiſſion of making war upon him. He had alſo probably good reaſon to ſuſpect *Titius*'s honour, or even *Antony*'s intentions, who had commiſſioned ſuch a perſon to conduct him to *Alexandria*. He therefore offered himſelf once more to *Furnius*, and begged him to receive him; and, when that could not be obtained, he deſired that, at leaſt, he might yield himſelf into *Amyntas*'s hands. But, *Furnius* telling him that *Amyntas* would not do

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an action which would prove injurious to *Titius*, who had *Antony*'s commiſſion for this purpoſe, the conference ended. *Antony*'s Lieutenants did not doubt but that *Pompey*, the next morning, would be forced, by the want of proviſions, to yield himſelf to *Titius*; but, as ſoon as it was night, he cauſed fires to be kindled, and gave orders to the trumpets to ſound at every watch of the night, according to cuſtom; and he himſelf, without any noiſe, went out of his camp with the flower of his forces, without making any one privy to his deſign, which was to return to the ſea, and burn *Titius*'s fleet. And this, in all probability, he would have effected, if *Scaurus* had not deſerted to the enemy, and given them an account of his march, and the way he took. *Amyntas* preſently followed him, with 1500 horſe, and ſoon overtook the fugitive, who had no cavalry with him. As ſoon as he appeared, all *Pompey*'s men forſook him; and this unfortunate Commander was forced to ſurrender. As ſoon as *Antony* knew that he was taken, he ſent an order, it was ſaid, to have him killed; but, afterwards relenting, ſent a counter order, which was carried with ſuch expedition, that it arrived firſt; ſo that, the order which condemned *Sextus* coming to hand laſt, *Titius* conſtrued it, or choſe to conſtrue it, as the laſt reſolution of *Antony*, and put it in execution. It was alſo reported, according to *Appian*, that *Plancus*, Governor of *Syria*, who had *Antony*'s ſeal, gave the order; apprehending that *Pompey* might raiſe ſome new diſturbance

Appian, p. 747.

turbance between *Octavius* and *Antony*, or even between *Antony* and the Queen of *Egypt*, who is ſaid to have had a very great regard for the name of *Pompey*. But all this only proves that *Antony* was aſhamed of the deed, and was glad by theſe rumours to throw the odium of it upon others. The people of *Rome* entertained ſuch a deteſtation of *Titius*'s ingratitude, that, when he returned to the city, and was celebrating games in *Pompey*'s theatre, he was loaded with imprecations, and driven from the *Circus*. Thus died *Sextus Pompeius*, in the fortieth year of his age, after a life of perpetual warfare and danger. He owed entirely to the reputation of his father both his honours and misfortunes. He had more courage than prudence, and more ambition than art and good conduct. A Chief of robbers, and afterwards of pirates: Ruſtic and impolite in his ſpeech and behaviour, and, governed by his ſlaves and freedmen [t], he furniſhed ample ſubject of reproach to the writers, who wanted to make their court to the Triumvirs. What enabled him to hold out ſo long againſt *Octavius* was the deſperate fortune of his followers, who were all fugitives, or men devoted to death by proſcriptions, who had no reſource but in their valour. The greateſt blot in his life is the murder of *Statius Murcus*, who,

A.R. 718. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Conſ.

[t] Hic adoleſcens erat ſtudiis rudis, ſermone barbarus, impetu ſtrenuus, manu promptus, cogitatione celer, fide patri diſſimillimus, libertorum ſuorum libertus, ſervorumque ſervus; ſpecioſis invidens, ut pareret humillimis. Vell. Pat. 73.

A.R. 718. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Conſ.

after the battle of *Philippi*, joined him with a very conſiderable fleet, and whom he is ſaid to have ſacrificed to the jealouſy of *Menas* and *Menecrates*, his freedmen and Admirals[u].

Octavius, on the death of *Pompey*, celebrated horſe-races and other games in *Rome*, and cauſed the ſame honour to be decreed to *Antony*, which he had received himſelf after the conqueſt of *Sicily*. According to *Dio*, he placed his chariot before the Roſtra in the Forum, and his ſtatue in the temple of Concord, and he was allowed to feaſt there with his wife and family. *Antony* ſpent the year at *Alexandria* with *Cleopatra*, who was continually importuning him to add new territories to her dominions. According to *Joſephus*, ſhe demanded all *Arabia* and *Judæa*, and would have engaged him to kill *Malchus* and *Herod*, the Kings of theſe two countries. And *Antony*, though he did not conſent to all ſhe requeſted, was yet ſo profuſe of his grants to her, that he ſhocked the *Roman* people, who loudly expreſſed their diſſatisfaction with his conduct. This year *Octavius*, to keep his troops in exerciſe, ſent them, under the command of his Lieutenants, into *Illyricum*, againſt the *Dalmatii*, the *Japodes*, the *Pannonii*, and other barbarous nations of thoſe parts: And, that he might refute the ſuſpicions entertained concerning his valour, he himſelf, it is ſaid, appeared ſometimes at the

Joſeph. Ant. l. xv. c. 4. l. i. chap. 13. et l. vii. c. 32.

[u] Statium autem Murcum, qui adventu ſuo claſſiſque celeberrimæ vires ejus duplicaverat, inſimulatum falſis criminationibus, quia talem virum collegam officii Menas & Menecrates faſtidierunt, Pompeius in Siciliâ interfecerat. *Vell. Pat.* 77.

head

head of his army, and behaved very gallantly, having been twice wounded, and often in danger of his life. This war continued till he found it neceſſary to break with his collegue, and commence hoſtilities with him. Y. R. 718. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Conſ. Appian, Dio.

CHAP. VI.

ANTONY *makes himſelf Maſter of* Armenia, *and puts the King in chains. His alliance with the King of the* Medes. *His extravagant deportment at* Alexandria. *He refuſes to receive* OCTAVIA, *and orders her back to* Rome. AGRIPPA'S *Edileſhip.*

M. ANTONIUS II.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO, } Conſuls.

ANTONY was no ſooner returned with his forces into *Syria*, than the two Monarchs of the *Medes* and *Parthians*, whom he had attacked, fell out about the diviſion of the *Roman* ſpoils, and the King of the *Medes* ſuſpected *Phraates* of having a deſign upon his kingdom. He, therefore, by the mediation of *Polemon*, King of *Cilicia*, and a part of *Pontus*, entered into a negociation with *Antony* and made him an offer of all his forces againſt the *Parthians*. *Polemon*, who followed *Antony* to *Alexandria*, eaſily determined him to accept of the proffered alliance, as it would furniſh him with a fair opportunity, not only of repairing his diſgrace by the deſtruction of the *Parthian* empire, but of revenging himſelf of the perfidious *Armenian*. Having Y. R. 719. Bef. Chr. 33. 418 Conſ.

Y. R. 719. Bef. Chr. 33. 418 Conſ.

therefore, made his preparations, he ſet out from *Alexandria* in the beginning of the ſpring of the preſent year, and marched his army directly towards *Armenia* [x], and, not thinking it unlawful or diſhonourable to uſe perfidy againſt the perfidious, he ſent ambaſſadors to *Artabazes* with an offer of his friendſhip and his alliance by the marriage of his ſon with a daughter of the *Armenian*, inviting him to come and join him. The King, conſcious of his guilt, and who had entered at that time into a negociation with *Octavius*, put no confidence in *Antony*'s falſe careſſes. He excuſed himſelf as well as he could, and was determined to avoid, if poſſible, putting himſelf in the hands of one whom he had ſo grievouſly offended. But *Antony*, by advancing toward *Artaxata*, the capital of *Armenia*, with all his forces, gave a weight to his invitation by the terror of his arms:

[x] *Cleopatra* accompanied him according to *Joſephus*, l. xv. c. 5, as far as the *Euphrates*, whence, paſſing through *Apamia* and *Damaſcus*, ſhe viſited *Judæa*, where ſhe was magnificently received by *Herod*, to whom ſhe farmed out the part of *Arabia* and of the country of *Jericho*, which had been lately given her. The ſame author adds, that ſhe made him an offer of her perſon through incontinence, or with an inſidious view to ruin him. The cautious and circumſpect politician, however, did not liſten to her ſollicitations, and entertained ſome thoughts of making away with her, for the ill ſervices ſhe had done him with *Antony*; but, his friends being all againſt ſuch an attempt, he got rid of her as ſoon as he could, loading her with preſents, and conducting her with great reſpect as far as *Peluſium*. Yet was he ſo apprehenſive of her malice, that he immediately ſtrongly fortified the caſtle of *Meſſada*, and ſtored it with arms for 12,000 men, as a place of refuge in caſe of need.

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Y. R 719. Bef. Chr. 33. 418 Conſ.

And *Artabazes* thought proper to go to the *Roman* camp. *Antony* had him inſtantly arreſted, pretending that his view was no other, than to oblige him to lend him his treaſures, which were kept in ſeveral fortreſſes, which the Commanders would never give up, unleſs it was to purchaſe the liberty of their King. *Artabazes* conſented to be carried round to all theſe caſtles, and gave his orders to the ſeveral Commanders conformable to *Antony*'s deſire: But none of them obeyed; and the Grandees, ſeeing their Monarch in the power of the *Romans*, proclaimed his eldeſt ſon, *Artaxias*, King in his ſtead. Upon this *Antony*, quitting the maſk, put, without any ceremony, the Monarch in chains; but they were of ſilver, to ſhew his great reſpect for the dignity of *King*. Thus a war was declared, but it was not of long duration. *Artaxias*, being entirely defeated in the firſt battle, fled into *Parthia*, leaving the kingdom and all his family in the power of *Antony*. Such was the origin of the troubles which ſhook, for a long time, *Armenia*, ſucceſſively invaded by two powerful empires, betwixt which it was ſituated, without remaining fixed under the power of either. *Antony* thought he had reaped glory enough for one year by the conqueſt of *Armenia*, where, having left troops ſufficient to preſerve it, and confirmed his alliance with the *Median* monarch, he returned to *Alexandria*. There he entered in a triumphal car with his captives and ſpoils, and made an homage of them to *Cleopatra*. *Artabazes* and all his family, bound in chains of gold, were brought

Dio, lix. p. 415.

Dio, ibid. Joſ. l. i. B. c. 13. Ant. l. xv. c. 5. Tacit. An. xi. 3.

Y.R. 719. Bef. Chr. 33. 418 Conſ.

before the Queen, ſeated on a throne of gold, under an alcove of ſilver, ſurrounded by all her Court and a multitude of people. *Antony*'s intention was, that his priſoners ſhould proſtrate themſelves before her, and implore her mercy as their Sovereign: But *Artabazes*, though in this deplorable condition, remembered that he was the ſon of the great King *Tigranes*, and refuſed either to kneel to her, or give her the title of Queen; which behaviour coſt him his liberty, and afterwards his life. He was ſent to priſon, and, after the battle of *Actium*, orders were given to put him to death. Nothing in all *Antony*'s conduct gave greater offence at *Rome* than his triumph at *Alexandria*. It ſeemed intolerable, that a *Roman* General ſhould impart ſuch a peculiar honour to a foreign nation, and that *Rome* ſhould be deprived of the glory of inſulting over vanquiſhed Kings, which, for ſo many years, ſhe had enjoyed.

C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus II.
L. Volcatius Tullus, } Conſuls.

Y.R. 720. Bef. Chr. 32. 419 Conſ.

Antony, ſtill taken up with the chimerical project of conquering *Parthia*, left *Alexandria* in the beginning of this year, and went as far as *Armenia*, but he did not paſs the *Araxes*. There he was met by the *Median* Monarch, and they made a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive: The *Median* was to furniſh him with forces againſt *Octavius*, in caſe of a rupture between him and *Antony*; and *Antony* was to furniſh his ally with forces againſt the *Parthian*. The *Roman* General transferred to the *Median* a part of *Armenia*; and

Dio, lib. xlix. 417, 418.

received

received of him the enſigns taken two years before, when *Statianus* was killed and the engines deſtroyed; together with *Jotape*, his daughter, then very young, who was to be married to *Alexander*, his eldeſt ſon by *Cleopatra*, whom he had already declared King of *Armenia*: Yet we are told that he diſpoſed of the leſſer *Armenia* to *Polemon*, who had negotiated the alliance between him and the *Median* Monarch. Y. R. 720. Bef. Chr. 32. 419 Conſ.

Octavia had reſided in *Rome* ever ſince *Antony*'s firſt expedition into *Parthia*, and had not found an opportunity of joining him. *Alexandria*, or its neighbourhood, was not a proper place; but ſeeing him about to ſet out a ſecond time againſt the *Parthians*, ſhe obtained leave of her brother to go and viſit him. *Octavius* conſented, as moſt authors agree, with a view of making *Antony* more odious by the ill uſage he well knew his ſiſter would meet with from him. As ſoon as ſhe arrived at *Athens*, ſhe received letters from *Antony*, ordering her not to proceed any further; alledging, for his excuſe, the war he was preparing to carry into *Parthia*. Upon receiving this meſſage, ſhe ſent, by *Niger*, a friend of *Antony*'s, a letter to acquaint him, that ſhe had brought with her two thouſand choice men well armed, with cloaths for his troops and preſents for the chief officers of his army: And ſhe deſired to know how ſhe muſt diſpoſe of them. *Cleopatra*, upon the firſt account of *Octavia*'s leaving *Rome*, had made uſe of every artifice to prevent her meeting with *Antony*. She loſt her ſtomach, fell ſick, and was continually

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Y. R. 720. Bef. Chr. 32. 419 Conſ.

in tears: And her creatures were very eloquent in exaggerating to *Antony* her anguiſh, and the imminent danger ſhe was in. They repreſented to him that his marriage with *Octavia* was a political alliance on account of her brother, and that ſhe enjoyed by it the name and honour of his ſpouſe; whereas *Cleopatra*, the Queen of ſo great a kingdom, did not diſdain to paſs for his miſtreſs, provided ſhe could have the happineſs of enjoying his preſence; but, deprived of that, her death was inevitable; ſo ardent was her love to him. *Antony* could not conſent to kill *Cleopatra*, and the anſwer to *Octavia* was to ſend him what ſhe had brought, and return to *Rome*. He was then in *Syria*, and he hurried away to the interview with the King of *Media*, and, after making the agreement with him juſt mentioned, he returned to *Alexandria*.

Here he abandoned himſelf to all the extravagancies imaginable: While *Octavia* at *Rome* continued to behave with the greateſt dignity; beſtowing the greateſt marks of affection on his children by *Fulvia*, and teſtifying the greateſt regard for all his friends. He aſſembled the people of *Alexandria* in the Gymnaſium, where there was raiſed an alcove of ſilver, under which were placed two thrones of gold, one for himſelf and the other for *Cleopatra*. There *Antony*, dreſſed like *Bacchus* [x], and *Cleopatra*, like *Iſis*, were

[x] Creſcente indies & amoris in Cleopatram incendio, et vitiorum, quæ ſemper facultatibus licentiaque et aſſentationibus alitur, magnitudine, bellum Patriæ inferre ſtatuit: Cum ante

were ſeated; and, in the preſence of all the people, he declared her his lawful wife, and Queen of *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Cyprus*, and *Cœlo-Syria*, aſſociating with her *Cæſario*, whom he ſtyled the true and lawful ſon of *Julius Cæſar*. To the children he had by her he gave the title of *Kings of Kings*; and, for their dominions, to *Alexander*, the eldeſt, he allotted *Armenia*, *Media*, and *Parthia*, which he pretended he would conquer in a little time: To *Ptolemy*, the younger, *Phœnicia*, *Upper Syria*, and *Cilicia*: And immediately the two boys were produced, cloathed in the royal robes of their reſpective kingdoms; *Alexander*, in a *Mediſh* dreſs, with a *Tiara* on his head; and *Ptolemy*, with the robes which were worn by the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, the ſlippers, military coat, and cap covered with a diadem. In this pompous dreſs they paid their reſpects to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*; after which they took their ſeats at their feet, being each attended with a guard, the one of *Armenians*, and the other of *Macedonians*. This ridiculous ſcene was followed by the moſt extravagant luxury. *Antony* ſuffered himſelf to be carried away with new pleaſures and delights by *Cleopatra*, and the delicacy and profuſeneſs of their entertainments ſtill daily increaſed, till, at laſt, the Queen promiſed him, upon a wager, to give him one to the value of ten millions of ſeſterces. 80,729 l. On this occaſion a golden cup was ſerved up, we

Y. R. 720. Bef. Chr. 32. 419 Conſ.

ante novum ſe Liberum patrem appellari juſſiſſet, cum redimitus hederis, coronâque velatus aureâ, et thyrſum tenens, cothurniſque ſuccinctus, curru velut Liber pater vectus eſſet Alexandriæ. *Vell. Pat.* ii. 82.

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Y. R. 720. Bef. Chr. 32. 419 Conſ.

are told, with a very ſtrong diſſolving liquor, in which *Cleopatra* put one of her pendants, which was a pearl of ineſtimable value, and immediately drank it off. *Plancus*, who was to judge of the wager, immediately ſecured the other pendant, which ſhe was then taking off, giving it as his judgment, that ſhe had already won the wager. The remaining pearl, after the death of *Cleopatra*, came into the hands of *Cæſar*, who cauſed it to be cut aſunder, and made into two pendants for the image of *Venus*, which he thought glorioufly adorned with the one half of this prodigal Queen's ſupper.

While *Antony* was thus degrading and bringing himſelf into general contempt, *Octavius*'s adminiſtration gained him the reſpect and eſteem of all orders of men. His arms were employed againſt the enemies of the State, and, out of their ſpoils, he adorned *Rome*. It was at this time he built a magnificent portico, to which he gave the name of his ſiſter *Octavia*, and where he placed afterwards a numerous library. No year in the *Roman* annals was more famous for all the arts of peace. *Agrippa*, though he had been honoured with the conſulſhip, did not think it a diſgrace to accept the *edileſhip*, an office which of late was fallen into great diſcredit, as it required great expences, and was no longer a ſtep to the greater magiſtracies, by the favour of the people, which it procured. He repaired the ancient aqueducts almoſt fallen to ruin, and made a new one, which he called the *Julian*, fifteen miles long. For the more commodious

dious diſtribution of theſe waters, he made ſeven hundred water-places, one hundred and five fountains, and one hundred and thirty reſervoirs. All theſe works were richly ornamented with three hundred ſtatues of marble or braſs, and four hundred marble columns. He adorned alſo the Circus with ſtatues of dolphins, and what they called eggs, being large maſſes formed in the ſhape of an egg, and placed upon the pillars next the end of the Circus, round which the chariots were to turn. Such was *Agrippa*'s paſſion for embelliſhing *Rome*, that he was deſirous to draw all the ſtatues and pictures out of private houſes and gardens to dedicate them to public uſe. He pronounced a ſpeech upon the ſubject, which was ſtill extant in the time of *Pliny*[y], and which, that author ſays, was worthy of the firſt citizen of the Republic.

Y. R. 720. Bef. Chr. 32. 419 Conſ.

The common ſewers, that ſtupendous work of the two *Tarquins*, had been greatly neglected. Theſe, of conſequence, were filled up with rubbiſh and choked up in ſeveral places. *Agrippa* made ſuch a large collection of water, that it formed, as it were, ſeven torrents, which, being let in by the opening of the ſewers, and running with rapidity, carried away all the dirt and filth; and, after this operation, he embarked himſelf upon the ſewers which had been thus cleanſed, and, by a ſubterraneous navigation, went from their entry to their opening in the

[y] Exſtat ejus oratio magnifica & maximo civium dignade tabulis omnibus figniſque publicandis; quod fieri ſa ius fuiſſet, quam in villarum exilia pelli. *Plin.* xxxv. 4.

Tiber.

Y. R. 720, Bef. Chr. 32. 419 Con.

Tiber. Theſe great expences did not hinder him from entertaining the people in the moſt magnificent manner. Shews of all kinds, plays, combats of gladiators, courſes in the Circus, and the *Trojan* game, were exhibited for fifty-nine days; during which time proviſions were often diſtributed to the people, and a kind of lottery-tickets were thrown into the theatre, and thoſe who brought them to him received their contents, which conſiſted of money, ſtuffs, and other moveables. An hundred and ſeventy baths were alſo kept open for the citizens, and ſerved at his expence, during the whole year.

Thus *Agrippa* was no leſs ſerviceable to his Maſter by gaining over to him the affections of the *Romans*, and making them taſte the long-interrupted ſweets of peace, than by his military exploits.

CHAP. VII.

The rupture between ANTONY *and* OCTAVIUS: *Their preparations for war. The deciſive battle of* Actium. ANTONY's *land-forces ſubmit with reluctance, and all the Kings and Provinces pay obeiſance to the Conqueror.* ANTONY's *laſt efforts. His death: That of* CLEOPATRA: *And the ſettlement of the empire on* OCTAVIUS.

CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, C. SOSIUS, } Conſuls.

Y. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conſ.

THESE two Conſuls were *Antony*'s friends, and *Dio* aſſures us, that he did not ſcruple to ſend to them from *Alexandria*, an account of his

his late distribution of kingdoms and provinces in favour of *Cleopatra* and her children, to have it confirmed by the Senate: But it is hard to believe that he could expose himself in this manner, and, if he did it, he could not mean it otherwise than as a public insult upon *Octavius* and a declaration of war. The same historian says, that, though the Consuls were wise enough not to produce his letters, yet they had the boldness to harangue the Senate against *Octavius*, in his absence; and that *Sosius*, the fiercest of the two, would have proceeded to a decree against his interest, if he had not been stopped by the Tribune *Balbus*. *Octavius*, informed of this attack upon him, returned to the city, and appeared in the first assembly of the Senate, attended by a great number of his friends, armed with poniards under their robes. He took his seat between the two Consuls, and began by an open declaration of his conduct, and an artful apology for what was objected to it. Then he bitterly inveighed against *Antony* and *Sosius*, pretending that he could convict them of several attempts against the Republic, as well as against himself. He was heard with attention, but without the least mark of approbation; and yet this Senate was almost entirely formed by himself; he had endeavoured by every method to recommend himself to it and it was entirely in his power. Observing that his speech had not the success he expected, he appointed another meeting, in which he promised to read such pieces as would put *Antony*'s designs in their full and proper light.

Y.R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conf.

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The Conſuls did not think proper to wait for that day: They privately left *Rome* to join *Antony*, attended by ſeveral of the Senators; and, *Octavius* having declared that all *Antony*'s relations and friends were at liberty to follow the example, all thoſe in his intereſt left *Italy*. *Pollio*, who had hitherto acted as a friend to *Antony*, and was eſteemed of his party, ſtaid behind; but refuſed to join *Octavius* in any meaſures againſt his General: And, when preſſed to it by *Octavius*, he anſwered: *The ſervices I have done to Antony are greater than the favours I have received from him; but theſe are better known. I will therefore remain neuter, and become the prey of the Conqueror.*

The two Chiefs kept now no longer any meaſures with one another. *Octavius*, provoked at the outrageous treatment of his ſiſter, made a report to the Senate of all *Antony*'s ſcandalous behaviour. He ſaid, that he was become a ſlave to a foreign Queen, and had ſacrificed to her the provinces of the Empire, and that he had diſhonoured the *Roman* name by his faithleſs and cruel treatment of the King of *Armenia* and his whole family: He reproached him alſo with the death of *Sextus Pompey*, and, in fine, he grievouſly complained of the affront offered by *Antony*'s unjuſt and indecent behaviour towards his ſiſter, and by his acknowledging *Cleopatra*'s ſon *Cæſario* for the lawful ſon of *Julius Cæſar* [z]. *Antony*, on

[z] Some hiſtorians tell us, that *Cæſario* was acknowledged as the ſon of *Julius Cæſar* by the three Triumvirs; a fact, which

on his ſide, ſent a bill of divorce immediately to *Octavia*, ordered her to leave his houſe in *Rome*, and, in his letters to *Octavius*, declared that he had been married to *Cleopatra* theſe nine years, and, conſequently, that his children by her were his lawful children: And that *Cæſario* had been owned by *Cæſar*, which *Matius* and *Oppius* could atteſt. In anſwer to what *Octavius* had ſpoken and written againſt *Antony*'s love for *Cleopatra*, and the prodigality of his feaſts, he reproached him with the famous feaſt where he and his gueſts repreſented ſo many deities; with his prepoſterous match with *Livia*, his infamous divorce of *Scribonia*, and with the indecent familiarity in which he lived with ſeveral *Roman* Ladies: He even proceeded to attack *Octavius*'s birth, his honour, and perſonal conduct, accuſing him of cowardice in the battles of *Mutina* and *Philippi*. In fine, he ſent formal complaints to the Senate, that *Octavius* had, contrary to all right, put himſelf in poſſeſſion of all *Sicily*, and the provinces governed by *Lepidus*, whom he had unjuſtly and barbarouſly depoſed: That he had not ſent him back the whole number of ſhips lent him for his expedition againſt *Pompey*: And that he had parcelled out all *Italy* to his own ſoldiers, without giving *Antony*'s their proper ſhare: And, in ſome of theſe public letters, in order to regain the affections of the people, he declared his reſolution to abdicate the triumvirſhip, as a magiſtracy too powerful and abſolute in a repub-

A. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conſ.

which is in itſelf utterly improbable, and which is diſproved by this complaint of *Octavius*.

Y. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conſ.

lican State. *Octavius* anſwered that he was ready to do the ſame, and invited *Antony* to *Rome* to make good his word: And, as to the other articles, he made anſwer: "That *Lepidus*'s con-"duct had obliged him to remove him; that "*Antony* ſhould have a ſhare in *Sicily* and *Africa*, "when *Antony* had ſhared with him *Armenia*; "and, as for *Antony*'s ſoldiers, that it was not "likely they would value a few pitiful lands in "*Italy*, after they had conquered all *Media* and "the empire of the *Parthians*, in following their "brave Commander." *Antony* was ſo enraged at this jeer, that he ordered *Canidius*, to whom he had given the command of his land-forces, to march, without intermiſſion, with ſixteen legions, to *Epheſus*, which he appointed the general rendezvous of all his forces: And thither he ſoon repaired with *Cleopatra*. Here they were met by their friends, who had left *Italy* to join them. *Domitius* was very earneſt to engage him to ſend *Cleopatra* back to *Egypt*, till the war was ended; and *Antony* was inclined to follow this wholſome advice; but ſhe, fearing leſt *Octavia* ſhould take advantage of her abſence, and make her peace, by large preſents gained *Canidius* to repreſent to *Antony* the many inconveniencies her departure would occaſion; particularly the depriving him of the aſſiſtance of the *Egyptians*, who made a great part of his navy. This Queen is ſaid to have brought with her two hundred veſſels with 20,000 talents, and proviſions for all his forces. Theſe counſels and her own cunning inſinuations prevailed, and *Antony* conſented to her ſtay. Leſt

he

he ſhould, however, be tempted again to give ear to *Domitius* and his true friends, ſhe carried him over into the iſland of *Samos*, where, while the preparations were going on at *Epheſus*, ſhe plunged him into all the pleaſures and diverſions that could be invented. Never, ſays *Plutarch*, were any man's cares ſo pleaſantly divided as *Antony*'s. On one ſide all the Kings, Princes, and Potentates from *Egypt* to the *Euxine* ſea, and from *Armenia* and *Illyricum*, had orders to ſend arms, proviſions, and ſoldiers to *Epheſus*; on the other all the comedians, dancers, muſicians, and buffoons were obliged to repair to *Samos*: And, while the whole univerſe was in commotion, and many parts of it in great miſery and deſolation, joy and all kind of pleaſure reigned in this iſland. Every city of *Antony*'s empire had a ſhare in his ſacrifices, and the Kings who accompanied him contended who ſhould make the nobleſt entertainment, ſo that it gave occaſion to one to aſk, "What rejoicings will thoſe people make for a "victory, who make ſuch magnificent treats be-"fore a dangerous war."

Y. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conſ.

From *Samos*, *Antony* and *Cleopatra* croſſed over to *Athens*, where the Queen, amidſt the uſual amuſements, was intent upon another object. She was jealous of the honours which *Octavia* had received in that city, and, by flattering that vain people, obtained a decree comprehending all kinds of honours, beyond what had been offered to any mortal: And *Antony*, in quality of a citizen of *Athens*, was at the head of the deputation, and pronounced the ſpeech, in the name of the

Y. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 4zo Conſ.

city, on this occaſion. Some authors tell us, that *Antony* meant this compliment as a ſolemn reparation for the injury he had done her in that city, by honouring *Octavia* as his lawful ſpouſe.

Thus the whole year was ſpent, on *Antony*'s ſide, between vain amuſements and preparations for war, when, if he had carried over his forces immediately, he would have found his enemy very little prepared to receive him. *Octavius* found himſelf under the neceſſity of laying heavy taxes on the people of *Italy*. The citizens paid him a fourth part of their revenue, and the freedmen an eighth. This, with the dread of *Antony*'s arrival with the formidable forces he had gathered, put them in a very ill humour, and he was often obliged to make uſe of his ſoldiers to get the money into his coffers: But *Antony* gave him time to quiet all diſturbances, and to inſpire them with a thorough contempt for a man, who was more taken up in filling the theatres of *Samos* with fidlers and pipers, than in carrying on his military operations.

Antony began now to be deſpiſed by his own party. *Plancus*, the conſtant companion of his debauches and the ſervile flatterer of the Queen, deſerted him at this time, with his nephew *Titius*, the ſame who had taken *Pompey* and put him to death [a]. Theſe deſerters, to recommend them-

[a] The virulence, with which *Paterculus* has treated *Plancus*'s character, betrays him to have been his perſonal enemy: Inter hunc apparatum belli, *Plancus* non judicio rectè legendi, neque amore Reipublicæ, aut Cæſaris (quippe hæc ſemper

themſelves to their new maſter, told all they knew of *Antony*'s enormities, and, amongſt other things, acquainted him with the contents of *Antony*'s will. This will was depoſited in the hands of the *Veſtals*, who were forced to give it up; and *Octavius* made no ſcruple of reading it in the Senate, and publiſhing the contents among the people. *Antony* therein confirmed the declaration he had already made concerning *Cæſario:* He bequeathed immenſe legacies to his children by *Cleopatra*, and ordered, "that, in "caſe he died in *Rome*, his body, after the uſual "ceremonies, ſhould be tranſported to *Alexandria* "and delivered to *Cleopatra*, by whom he de-"ſired to be buried." To this a report was added, "that *Antony* deſigned to give *Rome* to "*Cleopatra*, and to transfer the ſeat of the Em-"pire to *Alexandria*." Y. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conſ.

Antony's friends in *Italy*, ſenſible how much the intereſt of the whole party was hurt by *Cleo-*

per impugnabat) ſed morbo proditor, cùm fuiſſet humillimus aſſentator Reginæ, et infra ſervos cliens; cùm Antonii librarius, cùm obſcœniſſimarum rerum et auctor et miniſter, cùm in omnia et omnibus venalis; cùm cæruleatus et nudus, caputque redimitus arundine, et caudam trahens, genibus innixus Glaucum ſaltâſſet in convivio; refrigeratus ab Antonio, ob manifeſtarum rapinarum indicia, transfugit ad Cæſarem: Et idem poſteà clementiam victoris pro ſua virtute interpretabatur, dictitans id probatum à Cæſare, cui ille ignoverat: Hunc mox avunculum Titius imitatus eſt. Haud abſurdè *Coponius*, vir prætorius, graviſſimus, P. Silii ſocer, cùm recens transfuga multa ac nefanda Plancus abſenti Antonio in Senatu objiceret: *Multa* inquit, *mehercule fecit Antonius, pridie quam tu illum relinqueres.* L. ii. 83.

Y. R. 727. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Con.

patra, made a laſt effort to recall their Chief to a ſenſe of honour, and engage him to act a more prudent part. *Geminius*, one of his zealous partiſans, was ſent upon this errand; but *Cleopatra*, ſuſpecting that ſhe was the object of his miſſion, affronted him upon all occaſions. However, *Geminius* bore with all, waiting an audience of *Antony*, till, at laſt, being called upon in the middle of a feaſt to explain himſelf, he anſwered, "The affairs I came to treat about are not of a "nature to be debated at table: But one thing "there is that every body muſt be ſenſible of, "whether merry or ſober, which is, that affairs "would go very well, if *Cleopatra* returned to "*Egypt*." *Antony*'s paſſion roſe, but the Queen anſwered, very calmly, "You have done right, "*Geminius*, to ſpeak your ſecret without being "put to the torture." *Geminius* made his eſcape as ſoon as poſſible, and was followed by many more, who could bear no longer the imperious demeanor of the Queen, and the inſolence of her favourites [b]. *Rome* rung with complaints againſt *Antony*: A ſlave to *Cleopatra*, he appeared to have no other will, than that of his Queen, who had the aſſurance to promiſe herſelf the Empire of *Rome*, and, when ſhe would

[b] —— Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Funus et imperio parabat,
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum; quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunâque dulci
Ebria. —— *Hor.* l. i. od. 37.

con-

confirm any thing by oath, uſed to ſwear by the laws ſhe would dictate in the Capitol [c]. She had already a *Roman* guard, and her name was engraved upon the bucklers of the ſoldiers. But *Antony* himſelf ſeemed to have forgot that he was a *Roman:* He would often appear cloathed in the manner of the Eaſtern Princes, all glittering with purple and precious ſtones, a *Median* ſabre by his ſide, a golden ſceptre in his hand, and a diadem upon his head, and, thus accoutred, ſet himſelf upon a throne of gold [d]. His tent in the camp was no longer called *prætorium*, but *the royal pavilion:* And in the ſame manner as *Cleopatra* aſſumed all the attributes of the goddeſs *Iſis* in her pictures and ſtatues, ſo *Antony* cauſed himſelf to be repreſented in braſs and marble, or in painting with the ſymbols of *Oſyris.*

Y. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conſ.

Octavius was very induſtrious in bringing the *Roman* people and ſoldiers acquainted with theſe follies; and a decree paſſed to deprive *Antony* of the conſulſhip which he was to hold the follow-

[c] Romanique ducis conjux Ægyptia tædæ
Non bene fiſa cadet; fruſtraque erit illa minata
Servitura ſuo Capitolia noſtra Canopo.
Ov. Met. l. xv.

[d] Hæc mulier Ægyptia, ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum Romanum Imperium petit: Et promiſit *Antonius.* Igitur dominationem parare nec tacitè; ſed Patriæ, nominis, togæ, faſcium oblitus, totus in monſtrum illud ut mente, ita animo quoque et cultu deſciverat. Aureum in manu baculum; ad latus acinaces; purpurea veſtis ingentibus obſtricta gemmis; diadema aderat, ut Regina rex ipſe frueretur. *Flor.* lib. iv. c. 11.

Y.R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conſ.

ing year with *Octavius*, as alſo of the triumviral power; and war was declared, not againſt him, but againſt *Cleopatra*. The decree was ſo framed, that it left his partiſans the liberty of ſaving themſelves by abandoning their General, and made him more contemptible than if he and his adherents had been declared enemies to the Commonwealth. *Octavius* affected to ſay, "that "*Antony* was no more himſelf, ſince *Cleopatra*, "by her philtres, had taken away the uſe of "his reaſon: So that he was not to be eſteemed "as a perſon engaged in this war, which was "only managed by *Mardion*, her eunuch; and "*Iras* and *Charmion*, her women." All *Antony*'s followers were invited over with promiſes of rewards: And all *Italy* engaged itſelf by oath to ſerve *Octavius*. The city of *Bologna* alone aſked and obtained liberty not to join in the oath, having been always under the patronage of the *Antonian* family.

The forces of the two Generals were now got together, and they were proportioned to the empire they contended for; one drawing all the Eaſt, and the other the Weſt to his party [e]. The ancient writers tell us, that *Antony*'s army was compoſed of 100,000 foot and 12,000 horſe,

[e] Hinc Auguſtus agens Italos in prælia Cæſar,
Cum Patribus, Populoque, Penatibus et magnis Dis.
Hinc ope barbarica, variiſque Antonius armis.
Victor ab Auroræ populis et litore rubro,
Ægyptum viresque Orientis et ultima ſecum
Bactra trahit; ſequiturque nefas! Ægypta conjux.
Virg. Æn. li. 8.

be-

beſides the auxiliary troops ſent by the Kings in his alliance. *Bogud*, King of a part of *Libya*, *Tarcondimotus*, King of the higher *Cilicia*, *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus*, King of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates*, of *Commagena*, and *Amyntas*, of *Galatia*, ſerved in perſon in his army: And the King of the *Medes*[f], *Malchus* of *Arabia*, and *Polemon* of *Pontus*, ſent him their contingents. His fleet amounted to 500 veſſels, a great many of which had from eight to ten rows of oars. *Octavius* had 80,000 legionary troops with cavalry equal to that of *Antony*: But his fleet did not exceed 250 veſſels, and they were much ſmaller than thoſe of *Antony*, but better built and better manned with ſailors and rowers, who had learned their buſineſs in the war againſt *Pompey*; whereas thoſe of *Antony* were half empty, and their ſailors and rowers, being moſt of them forced into the ſervice, had never ſeen the ſea. Y. R. 721, Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Con.

Antony ſailed, with his whole force, to *Corcyra*, in the autumn of this year; but, being informed that the enemy's veſſels appeared upon the neighbouring coaſt, he ſuppoſed that *Octavius*'s whole fleet was at ſea, and retired towards *Peloponneſus*. There he put his troops into winter-quarters, and ſpent that ſeaſon himſelf at *Patræ*[g].

C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus III.
M. Valerius Messala Corvinus. } Conſuls.

The

[f] *Antony* having recalled the troops he had lent this Monarch, the *Parthians* took the opportunity to make themſelves maſters of *Media*; and *Armenia* was likewiſe loſt.

[g] *Atticus* died under the preſent conſulſhip at the age of ſeventy-

Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 721 Conſ.

The two Generals were now in readineſs for action. *Antony* brought his fleet into the gulph of

ſeventy-ſeven. He had been attacked with a fiſtula, for which finding no cure, he came to a reſolution of ſtarving himſelf to death: And though, after abſtaining for two days, the fever left him, and he found himſelf better, yet he remained obſtinate in his purpoſe, and was deaf to the entreaties of his relations and friends. He died altogether in character, as a true *Epicurean*, voluntarily ſacrificing the remains of a languiſhing life, to purchaſe a deliverance from pain, which he deemed the ſovereign evil. The difficulty of the times in which he lived, and the perpetual quiet he enjoyed in them, ſhewed that he was a perfect maſter of the principles of his ſect, and knew how to ſecure *that chief good of an Epicurean life*, his private eaſe and ſafety. One would naturally imagine, that his union with *Cicero* and *Brutus*, added to the fame of his wealth, would have involved him of courſe in the ruin of the proſcription. But, as if he had foreſeen ſuch an event and turn of things, he had always paid a particular court to *Antony*; and, in the time even of his diſgrace, when he was driven out of *Italy* and his affairs thought deſperate, he did many eminent ſervices to *Antony*'s friends, and particularly to his wife and children. It muſt be likewiſe imputed to the ſame principle of *Atticus*'s caution and regard to his ſafety, that, after ſo long and intimate a correſpondence of letters with *Cicero*, on the moſt important tranſactions of that age, of which there are ſixteen books of *Cicero*'s ſtill remaining, yet not a ſingle letter of *Atticus*'s was ever publiſhed: Which can hardly be charged to any other cauſe, but his having withdrawn them from *Tiro*, after *Cicero*'s death, and ſuppreſſed them with a ſingular care; leſt, in that revolution of affairs, they ſhould be produced to his hurt, or the diminution of his credit with their new maſters. But his intereſt with the reigning powers was ſoon eſtabliſhed upon a more ſolid foundation than that of his perſonal merit, by the marriage of his only daughter with *M. Agrippa*; which was firſt propoſed and brought about by *Antony*. This introduced him into the friendſhip and familiarity of *Octavius*,

Middl. v. ii. p. 580.

of *Ambracia*, and *Octavius* aſſembled all his forces at *Brunduſium* and the neighbouring ports. We are told, that *Octavius* wrote to his competitor, *that, if he would approach at the head of his army, he ſhould have ports in Italy to land in without moleſtation; and he would draw his troops ſo far from the ſea, that he ſhould want no room for encamping, and putting his men in battalia.* To make a return to this bravado, *Antony challenged Octavius to fight a ſingle combat, or, if he pleaſed, he would give him battle in the plains of Pharſalia, where Cæſar and Pompey had decided their differences.* As ſoon as the fair ſeaſon came on, *Agrippa* was detached, at the head of a numerous fleet, to reconnoitre the enemy and diſtreſs them. He made deſcents on the coaſts of *Greece*, took by force *Methona*, a conſiderable town of *Peloponneſus*, defended by a good garriſon; killed *Bo-*

Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 421 Conſ.

Gulph of Arta.

Now called Modon.

tavius, whoſe miniſter and favourite *Agrippa* was; and *Vipſania Agrippina*, born of this marriage, when ſcarcely a year old, being promiſed to *Tiberius*, ſon-in-law to *Octavius*, and his ſucceſſor, he became allied to the reigning family; and dignity was added to his quiet. It appears, that he was born with very good natural parts, which he cultivated to his old-age by perpetual ſtudy, and was particularly very learned in the *Roman* hiſtory, which gave him an occaſion of obliging many families by making out their genealogies. He never formed any pretenſions to the honours of the State, and made therefore no enemies, but, with great addreſs and aſſiduity courted the favour of all the great men, however oppoſite were their views and intereſts; and he had the ſucceſs which every man of parts will have, who, with ſuch a pliant diſpoſition, and ſo much moderation, joins the ſplendor of an affluent fortune. Such a one is in nobody's way, and is neceſſarily looked on by all as an uſeful acquaintance.

gud,

Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 421 Conf.

Della Chimera.

gud, King of *Mauritania*, and ſeized a large convoy of proviſions coming from *Syria* and *Egypt*. At his return, *Octavius* carried over his whole army, and landed them at the *Ceraunian* mountains, whence they were ordered to march along the coaſt as far as the gulph of *Ambracia*. He then ſailed at the head of his fleet to the promontory of *Actium*, where he was very near ſurpriſing *Antony*, whoſe fleet lay there at anchor, but was in no ſtate of defence. *Antony*, however, put his ſhips into a fighting poſture, and, to deceive his enemy, armed all his rowers, ſuſpending the oars in ſuch a manner, as to make their blades appear on each ſide of the ſhip. *Octavius* durſt not engage him in that narrow paſſage, and ſtood off to ſea. The two armies were now encamped on each ſide of the gulph, and, for ſeveral months, while they remained in this poſture, had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes.

In the mean time, *Agrippa*, at the head of a part of the fleet, took *Toryna*, *Patræ*, *Leucas*, and *Corinth*, to the great aſtoniſhment of *Antony*'s army; which ſucceſs cauſed many deſertions. *Amyntas*, *Dejotarus*, and *Domitius Ahenobarbus* went over to *Octavius*[b]. To the latter of theſe *Antony* generouſly

[b] Longè antequam dimicaretur, exploratiſſima Julianarum partium fuit victoria. Vigebat in hac parte miles atque Imperator; illa marcebant omnia: Hinc remiges firmiſſimi; illinc inopiâ affectiſſimi: Navium hic magnitudo modica, cum celeritate; adverſa illa, ſpecie terribilior: Hinc ad Antonium nemo, illinc ad Cæſarem quotidiè aliqui transfugiebant. Denique in ore atque oculis Antonianæ claſſis per Agrippam Leucas oppugnata, Patræ captæ, Corinthus occupata bis ante ulti-

rouſly ſent all his ſervants and equipage, which ſo ſenſibly touched *Domitius*, who was already ſick, that he died partly of grief and vexation. Theſe deſertions are ſaid to have greatly ſoured his temper, and to have made him ſo ſuſpicious and cruel, that he began to diſtruſt *Cleopatra* herſelf, and would eat nothing without a taſter. *Cleopatra* ridiculed his precautions: And, to convince him how uſeleſs all his care was, ſhe poiſoned the flowers of a garland which adorned her head, and, when the company was full of mirth and gaiety, ſhe propoſed to ſteep them in wine and to drink them. *Antony* inſtantly ſnatched from her the garland, threw the flowers into his cup, and was juſt going to drink, when the Queen ſtopped his hand, telling him *that now it was evident he could have no guard againſt her addreſs, were not her heart intereſted in his preſervation.* He thus perceived how uſeleſs it was to guard againſt the arts of a woman, who could ſo ſkilfully mingle the inevitable ſnares of death among her pleaſures.

Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 421 Conſ.

The ſummer was now ſpent, and nothing deciſive was done. The grand queſtion in *Antony*'s camp was, whether to truſt all to a naval or land battle? *Canidius*, who commanded his legions, repreſented to him in the ſtrongeſt man-

ultimum diſcrimen claſſis hoſtium ſuperata. Rex Amyntas meliora et utiliora ſecutus; nam Dellius exempli ſui tenax fuit et illo bello; virque clariſſimus Cn. Domitius qui ſolus Antoniarum partium nunquam Reginam niſi nomine ſalutavit, maximo et præcipiti periculo tranſmiſit ad Cæſarem. *Vell. Pat.* ii. 84.

Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 421 Conf.

ner, *that it would be contrary to all reaſon to put a victory to the hazard of the ſeas and winds, which they were certain of at land, by the valour and experience of their General, who to that day had kept up the title of invincible; and by the bravery of their ſoldiers, who had been tried in ſo many great dangers: That it would be no diſhonour for him to leave the ſea to* CÆSAR, *whoſe officers and ſoldiers, in ſo long and deſperate a war with* S. POMPEY, *had become ſkilful in ſea-affairs.* He alſo propoſed, *that* CLEOPATRA *ſhould go back to* Egypt, *whilſt* ANTONY *marched into* Macedonia, *where he might determine the quarrel by a general battle, and where he would receive a powerful aſſiſtance from* DICOMES, *King of the* Getæ. *Antony* was much inclined to follow this advice; but *Cleopatra* biaſſed him the other way, and obliged him, againſt his will, to hazard his empire and life in a ſea-fight, and this only that, in caſe of a defeat, ſhe might eſcape with the greater eaſe[1]. *Dio* pretends

[1] If *Octavius* had great advantages over *Antony* in a ſea-fight, I cannot think that he had leſs at land; and, certainly, the fatal conſequences of a defeat at land were more immediate, than one at ſea. The legions *Antony* carried over into the *Eaſt* were greatly diminiſhed by his loſſes in the *Parthian* expedition, and they had lived the reſt of the time at eaſe in a luxurious country: Whereas *Octavius* was really the General of the veterans, and could command as manyas he ſaw neceſſary, or was able to maintain; he had kept them under continual duty, and inured his new levies to war in his expeditions againſt the people of *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum*. The ſeveral towns taken by *Agrippa*, as it were in the ſight of *Antony*'s army, ſhew that *Octavius*'s officers and ſoldiers were as active and enterpriſing as *Antony*'s were dejected and ſpiritleſs.

tends that ſhe even adviſed him to march back all his troops to *Egypt*. Y. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 30. 421 Conſ.

Antony, having taken this reſolution to fight by ſea, picked out of his numerous fleet one hundred and ſeventy of his beſt ſhips, which was all he could well man, and burnt the reſt. Theſe, with *Cleopatra*'s ſixty gallies, made two hundred and thirty; but, as they were larger and higher than the enemy's, he reckoned that advantage would infallibly give him the victory. He put on board theſe ſhips twenty thouſand legionary ſoldiers and two thouſand archers. While he was thus embarking his troops, a brave old ſoldier, all covered with ſcars, ſpoke to him aloud, *My General, why do you deſpiſe this good ſword and this old arm, which all my wounds have not weakened; and put your confidence in a frail piece of wood. Leave the water to the* Egyptians *and* Phœnicians, *people born and nurſed up in that element; but leave us Romans to the firm land, where we may boldly meet death, and fall like men.* *Antony* anſwered nothing; only by the motion of his head he ſeemed to encourage him, though he himſelf

leſs. Now, in caſe of a defeat at land, *Antony* would have found great difficulty to eſcape; his fleet, locked up in the gulph of *Ambracia*, was loſt. Whereas, in a ſea-fight, which he took care to begin but late in the day, he had an opportunity of making off to *Egypt*, where he had a ſure retreat, and an army in the neighbourhood, with which he hoped, if not to retrieve his affairs, at leaſt to make a ſtand, and, perhaps, ſome compoſition with his rival. He ſeems likewiſe, it may be obſerved, to have deſpaired, from the beginning, of bringing off his land army, in caſe of bad ſucceſs at ſea.

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was not well ſatisfied; for, when his officers propoſed taking away the ſails, he oppoſed it, alledging, *that he would have none of the enemy eſcape.* *Octavius*, on his ſide, was very ſenſible of the advantage his enemy gave him by offering battle at ſea, and prepared every thing for it. But, notwithſtanding that the two Generals were ready to engage, a violent ſtorm prevented them for four days. On the fifth, which was the 2*d* of *September* [k], the two fleets advanced towards each other.

Antony ranged his before the mouth of the gulph of *Ambracia*, giving the command of the right wing to *Gellius Publicola*, the left to *Soſius*, and of the center to *M. Octavius* and *M. Juſteius*. He reſerved to himſelf the general inſpection of all, and, before the engagement, he, in his galley, went about encouraging his men with the remembrance of the many victories they had gained under his conduct, telling them, *that the largeneſs of their veſſels gave them an opportunity of fighting as firmly and with as much aſſurance as on dry land; and that this day, as he expected the empire of the world from their valour, ſo they might expect rewards anſwerable to ſo noble a conqueſt.* *Octavius* gave the command of his fleet to *Agrippa*, who had under him in the right *M. Lurius*, and *L. Arruntius* in the left. The Conſul *Meſſala* probably commanded the center. As to *Octavius* himſelf, he kept no particular command, but,

[k] The beginning of *Octavius*'s reign was reckoned from this date by many authors. Vid. *Scal. de Emend. temp.* p. 453. and *Petav. Doct. temp.* l. x. c. 66.

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ſurrounded by a number of little boats to carry his orders, ſuperintended the whole. The two land-armies, drawn up on the two ſides of the gulph, were ſimple ſpectators of the battle, and encouraged their friends; the one was commanded by *Canidius*, the other by *Statilius Taurus*. *Antony* had recommended to his officers to keep as near the ſhore as poſſible, and to conſider their veſſels as ſo many citadels deſigned to ſuſtain the aſſault of a number of beſiegers: And they ſtaid in this ſituation till noon; *Octavius*, keeping at a mile's diſtance, being ſenſible that, while the enemy's fleet was in that poſition, he could avail himſelf but very little of the nimbleneſs of his ſhips, and the ſkill of his mariners, which were his chief advantages. About noon, a gale ſpringing up, *Antony*'s left wing, impatient to begin the battle, moved forwards; and *Octavius*, to draw them farther from the ſhore, made his right wing fall ſtill farther back. The battle began on both ſides with great courage and bravery, and ſo continued for a long time, till, *Agrippa* ſtretching out his left wing in order to ſurround the enemy, *Publicola*, who commanded *Antony*'s right wing, was obliged to do the ſame; and, in ſpreading out his veſſels, he was ſeparated gradually from the center, which began to be put in diſorder. The advantage was not determined on either ſide, according to all the ancient hiſtorians, when *Cleopatra*, wearied with expectation and overcome with fear, unexpectedly tacked about, and fled towards *Peloponneſus* with her ſixty ſail: And, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, *Antony* himſelf, now

Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 421 Conſ.

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regardleſs of his honour, fled precipitately after, and abandoned his men who ſo generouſly expoſed their lives for his intereſt. Having reached *Cleopatra*'s galley, he went into it, and ſat a long time in a melancholy poſture, without deſiring to ſee the Queen, though he had followed her, ſays *Plutarch*, without any apparent reaſon but the thoughts of her abſence.

The battle, notwithſtanding, continued with great obſtinacy till five in the evening, when *Antony*'s forces were partly conſtrained to ſubmit by the great conduct of *Agrippa*, and partly perſuaded by the obliging promiſes of *Octavius* [1].

The

[1] Ubi initum certamen eſt omnia in altera parte fuere, Dux, remiges, milites; in altera nihil præter milites: prima occupat fugam Cleopatra. Antonius fugientis Reginæ, quam pugnantis militis ſui, comes eſſe maluit: Et Imperator qui in deſertores ſævire debuerat, deſertor exercitûs ſui factus eſt. Illis etiam detracto capite in longum fortiſſimè pugnandi duravit conſtantia; et deſperatâ victoriâ, in mortem dimicabatur. Cæſar, quos ferro poterat interimere, verbis mulcere cupiens, clamitanſque, et oſtendens fugiſſe Antonium, quærebat pro quo et cum quo pugnarent? At illi, cum diu pro abſente dimicaviſſent duce, ægrè ſummiſſis armis ceſſêre victoriam: citiùſque vitam veniamque Cæſar promiſit, quam illis, ut ea precarentur, perſuaſum eſt. Fuitque in confeſſo, milites optimi Imperatoris, Imperatorem fugaciſſimi militis functum officio: Ut dubites ſuone, an Cleopatræ arbitrio victoriam temperaturus fuerat, qui ad ejus arbitrium direxit fugam. Idem locatus in terra fecit exercitus cum ſe Canidius præcipiti fuga rapuiſſet ad Antoniam. *Vell. Pat.* ii. 85.

If the battle did not begin till noon and all was over at five; and if *Antony*'s ſhips fought a long time after his flight; then *Cleopatra*'s expectation was ſoon wearied. Undoubtedly both ſhe and *Antony* ſoon ſaw how affairs would turn,

The Conqueror's firſt care was to ſend away *Mæcenas* with a ſquadron in purſuit of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*; but they had got ſo much the advantage of him, that he ſoon returned from the chace [m], and was then diſpatched to *Rome* to keep all quiet in *Italy*, in quality of *Prefect*. *Antony*'s land-army could not be perſuaded, at firſt, that they were abandoned by their General, and were in expectation of ſeeing him every moment. In this confidence they held out ſeven days, paying no regard to *Octavius*'s ſollicitations, and began to march towards *Aſia* through *Macedonia*, till, at laſt, being deſerted by the allies, who marched home, and alſo by their Commander *Canidius*, and by many of their chief officers, they yielded to neceſſity, and accepted the conditions offered them. *Octavius* generouſly pardoned all his adverſaries, excepting a very ſmall number, who, in a very particular manner, were his declared enemies [n]. He then returned

V. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 42 Conſ.

turn, and were ſenſible that their fleet, conſiſting of heavy ſhips, was inevitably loſt; and that they themſelves would not be able to eſcape by flight, if they waited any longer. After they had loſt their fleet and ſo many brave ſoldiers in the fight of their land-army, could they depend upon its fidelity? Since, even before the ſea-fight, appearances were ſo much againſt *Antony*, that he was deſerted by ſeveral of his chief officers, and, to that moment, the moſt zealous of his friends.

[m] *Plutarch* ſays, that one *Eurycles* did actually come up with *Antony*'s ſhips, and took one loaded with plate and rich furniture.

[n] Among the firſt are named *Soſius*, *Furnius*, and *M. Scaurus*, *Sextus Pompey*'s half-brother by the mother's ſide. The chief

Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 421 Conſ.

ſolemn thanks to *Apollo*, who was his particular patron among the gods, and the tutelar divinity of *Actium*, and conſecrated to him a veſſel of each kind, picked out of thoſe taken from *Antony*, from one bank of oars to ten *; and, remembering what had happened in *Sicily* after the reduction of *Pompey*'s and *Lepidus*'s armies, he immediately diſmiſſed all *Antony*'s old ſoldiers, and ſent his own veterans into *Italy*, there to wait for the rewards which had been promiſed them: Keeping about him only ſuch as had not ſerved their full time, and who, in hopes of ſharing the ſpoils of *Egypt*, would be faithful and zealous in his cauſe. At the ſame time to put the city and all *Italy* in good humour, he took off all the taxes, which he had been obliged lately to lay on them, and even remitted the arrears that were due. And, leſt the veterans ſhould raiſe a mutiny and diſturbance, he ſent *Agrippa* to take care of them. He himſelf went to *Athens*, where, being made acquainted with the oppreſſion the *Greeks* had groaned under ſince *Antony*'s arrival, he

Dio, l. li. initio. Strabo, vii. p. 325.

chief of thoſe put to death were *Curio*, the ſon of the famous *Curio*; *Aquilii Flori*, father and ſon; and *Caſſius* of *Parma*. *Velleius* infers, from his preſent clemency, that the cruelties exerciſed in the beginning of the Triumvirate, and after the battle of *Philippi*, are not to be laid to his charge. Victoria fuit clementiſſima; nec quiſquam interemptus, niſi pauciſſimi, & ii qui deprecari quidem pro ſe non ſuſtinerent. Ex qua lenitate ducis colligi potuit, quem aut initio Triumviratus ſui aut in campis Philippicis, ſi licuiſſet, facturus fuerit. *Vell.* ii. 86.

* *Suetonius*'s account is ſomething different in *Aug.* c. 13.

Am-

he relieved the miſery of the people by diſtributing among them the proviſions which *Antony* had made for his army. From *Athens* he paſſed into *Aſia*, with a deſign of marching on towards *Egypt*, when he was recalled into *Italy* by *Agrippa*, who had not authority enough over the veterans, who had grown turbulent, and loudly demanded their recompence. Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 421 Conſ.

C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus IV.
M. Licinius Crassus. } Conſuls.

Octavius ſet ſail in the middle of winter, and in his paſſage was twice in great danger of being ſhipwrecked; firſt upon the coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, and then on the coaſt of *Epirus*. He loſt ſeveral of his ſhips, and the rigging and rudder of his own were torn away. At laſt he arrived ſafe at *Brunduſium*, where he was met by all the Senators, Knights, and Magiſtrates, except two Prætors, and two Tribunes of the people, who were ordered by the Senate to remain in the city, in order to keep it quiet. His ſudden arrival and this pompous reception diſconcerted the mutinous ſoldiers, who were quite overawed by the ſeverity of his look and the haughtineſs of his behaviour [p]. However, he diſtributed what money Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

Ampliato vetere Apollinis templo, locum caſtrorum quibus fuerat uſus exornatum, navalibus ſpoliis, Neptuno & Marti conſecravit.

[p] Divus Auguſtus vultu & aſpectu Actiacas legiones exterruit. *Tac. An.* i. 42. Our modern authors have made very free with *Octavius*'s character as a ſoldier: "What a "prodigious and incoherent mixture of oppoſite qualities "in

Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 672 Conſ.

ney he had among the oldeſt of them, and allotted lands to them; but it was not in his power

"in the ſame man!" ſays Abbé de Vertot, "and eſpecially "in a man that aſpired to render himſelf maſter of the "whole world! In him we ſee an exalted, bold, audacious "genius, capable of forming the greateſt deſigns, yet incapable of facing coolly the leaſt danger, and that ſhewed "no courage but in council, and where there was no need of "venturing his perſon in the execution. He was very early "ſenſible that courage, a General's firſt quality, was wanting in him: Yet, though he was conſcious of this weakneſs in himſelf, it abated nothing of his ambition. He "contented himſelf with calling another man's valour to his "aid: He borrowed, as it were, *Agrippa*'s courage." *Hiſt. of the Revol. of Rome*, B. xiv. Abbé *de St. Real* is of the ſame opinion, and Mr. *Monteſquieu* is yet more ſevere in his cenſure: "I believe *Octavius* is the only man, of all the *Ro*"*man* Generals, who ever gained the affections of the ſol"diers by giving them perpetual inſtances of *a natural timi*"*dity of ſpirit*. The ſoldiers, at that time, were more affected "with the liberality of their Commanders than with their "valour: Perhaps it was even fortunate for him that he "was not maſter of any qualities which could procure him "the empire, and that his very incapacity ſhould be the "cauſe of his promotion to it, ſince it made him the leſs "dreaded. It is not impoſſible that the defects which throw "the greateſt diſhonour on his character were the moſt propitious to his fortune. If he had diſcovered at firſt any "traces of an exalted ſoul, all mankind would have been "jealous of his abilities; *and, if he had been ſpirited by any* "*true bravery, he would not have given Antony time to launch* "*into all the extravagancies which proved his ruin.*" Reflexions on the grandeur of the Romans, c. xiii. It is hard to underſtand what the Preſident can mean by the laſt reflexion; for it is evident that, till *Octavius* had vanquiſhed *Sextus Pompey* and *Lepidus*, and *Antony*, by his extravagant behaviour, had loſt the affections of the ſoldiers, the young Triumvir was not a match for his partner in power: And, as to the judgment

power to diſcharge all that was due to them, and, to make them ſenſible of it, he expoſed to ſale his own effects and thoſe of his friends. Theſe nobody ventured to purchaſe, and his ſoldiers were aſhamed that they had forced their General to ſuch an expedient. They conſented, therefore, to wait quietly his time; and he paid them out of the immenſe ſpoils which he brought from *Egypt*. Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

After a ſtay of only twenty-ſeven days, he embarked again for *Aſia*, to complete his victory by the deſtruction of *Antony*. All the Kings of *Aſia* came to aſſure him of their obedience; and none appeared more forward than *Herod*, King

ment theſe three very ingenious writers pronounce againſt *Octavius*'s courage, it is grounded purely on ſome expreſſions which, *Suetonius* tells us, were thrown out againſt him in *Antony*'s invectives and manifeſtoes. The whole tenor of his conduct, from his firſt entrance upon the ſtage of action is repugnant to it. No man could ſhew more daring ſpirit and more true courage than *Octavius* did, when he attacked *Antony*, armed with conſular authority, and all the forces of the State, at the ſiege of *Mutina*; in his wars againſt *S. Pompey*; in thoſe he waged againſt the *Dalmatians*; in fine, in this laſt againſt the formidable *Antony* himſelf. At the battle of *Philippi* he made no figure; he withdrew to *Antony*'s camp: But we know very little of the circumſtances of that battle: And it muſt be remembered that he had been long ill of a lingering diſorder. But that he was loſt for three days after the battle of *Mutina*; that he hid himſelf at *Philippi* among the baggage of *Antony*'s army; and that, in a ſea-fight againſt *Pompey*, he laid himſelf down in his ſhip upon his back, like a man in a trance, till the engagement was over; theſe are imputations as ridiculous in themſelves, as they are inconſiſtent with the more authentic accounts of the ancient hiſtorians.

Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conf.

of *Judæa*, who went as far as *Rhodes* to lay his crown at *Octavius*'s feet, and offered to ſerve him in perſon with his troops. *Octavius* received him into favour, but would not ſpare *Alexas*, the *Syrian*, who attended him: And who, after having been *Antony*'s greateſt flatterer, was a moſt perfidious traitor to him. *Didius*, who commanded for *Antony* in *Syria*, declared likewiſe againſt him: And none of all his allies and officers remained faithful to him. A company of gladiators, which he had at *Cyzicum*, were the only friends he had left in all his dominions. Theſe brave fellows ſet out to join him, and marched over all *Aſia*, in ſpite of the oppoſition they met with from the Kings and States who had abandoned his party. *Didius* ſtopped them in *Syria*, but was not able to reduce them; They informed *Antony* of their ſituation, intreating him to come and put himſelf at their head; but, receiving no anſwer, they came to an agreement with *Didius*, and, upon condition that they ſhould be no more obliged to fight in the amphitheatre, they conſented to wait in the ſuburbs of *Antioch* till *Octavius* diſpoſed of them. They were afterwards ſeparated and incorporated into different legions.

Antony, after he was received into *Cleopatra*'s galley, gave himſelf entirely over to melancholy reflexions and deſpairing thoughts, and, through ſhame or indignation, refuſed to ſee the Queen for three days; till, arriving at *Tenarus*, her women ſo beſtirred themſelves, that they brought them to ſee one another, and to ſit together.

gether. There news was brought him of the entire loſs of his fleet, but that it was uncertain whether his army remained firm. He wrote, therefore, from thence to *Canidius* to retreat through *Macedonia* and return to *Aſia*, and he took what care he could of his friends, diſtributing amongſt them all the money he had, and commanding them to leave him and provide for their own ſafety. From *Tenarus* he ſailed to *Paretonium*, a town on the coaſt of *Egypt*, which borders on the territory of *Cyrene*. Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

Here *Cleopatra* left him to return to *Alexandria* [q]. His view, in remaining ſome time in the neighbourhood of *Cyrene*, was to aſſemble about him the troops he had in that country under the command of *Pinarius Scarpus:* But this Lieutenant declared himſelf for the Conqueror, and, having put to death *Antony*'s couriers and alſo ſome ſoldiers who ſpoke loudly in favour of their General, he delivered *Cyrene*, with four legions, to *Gallus*, who commanded for *Octavius* in thoſe parts. This diſappointment rendered him deſperate, and he would inſtantly have put an end to his life, if his friends had not hindered him, and carried him to *Alexandria*. There he found *Cleopatra* engaged in a project, which well ſhewed her enterpriſing ſpirit. She had cauſed

[q] *Dio* tells us, that ſhe crowned her ſhips with garlands, and entered the port as if ſhe returned victorious and triumphant; fearing leſt the *Alexandrians*, in her diſtreſs, ſhould refuſe her admittance: And that her firſt care, after her return, was to put to death a great many of her principal officers and to confiſcate the eſtates of others.

ſome

Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 522 Conſ.

Plut. Strab. l. viii. p. 335. Liv. xlii. 26.

ſome of her gallies to be carried over the iſthmus of *Suez* into the *Red Sea*, propoſing to ſave herſelf with her treaſures in an unknown world: But, the *Arabians* having burnt them by the perſuaſion of *Didius* who commanded in *Syria*, ſhe was forced to abandon a deſign ſo full of difficulties, and ſhe ſet about fortifying the avenues of her kingdom, and making preparations for war. She alſo ſollicited foreign aſſiſtance, addreſſing herſelf to all the Princes in the alliance of *Antony*; and it was then, to make up matters with the King of the *Medes* in particular, that ſhe put to death *Artabazes*, King of *Armenia*, and ſent his head to his enemy.

While *Cleopatra* was thus employed, *Antony*'s behaviour was very different. We are told that he betrayed a ſhameful weakneſs; built a houſe near *Pharos*, where he ſhut himſelf up without either friends or domeſtics, *to imitate Timon*, as he ſaid, *ſince he had no leſs reaſon to hate mankind than that Athenian, being betrayed by thoſe whom he had moſt obliged.* But his natural temper did not allow him to remain long in this ſtate, and, quitting his cell, he gave himſelf up to feaſting and every ſort of extravagance. The ſociety formed in the days of his power, and known under the title of the *inimitable life*, was now changed into another, which was called *an engagement to die together*. His friends ſubſcribed their names, and all the fraternity prepared for death by the moſt exceſſive intemperance. In the midſt of theſe diverſions, *Cleopatra* is ſaid to have made experiments of all ſorts of poiſons and venomous

mous animals in order to find out the means of procuring the quickeſt and eaſieſt death; and ſhe found that the aſp was the only one, which cauſed ſuch a one as ſhe deſired, without convulſions or pains. A gentle moiſture bedewed the face, the ſenſes became obliterated, and an exceſſive heavineſs oppreſſed the whole body like thoſe who are in a very ſound ſleep: And to this death ſhe reſolved to have recourſe. U.R. 721. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

Notwithſtanding this firm reſolution to die, we are told, that they ſometimes entertained hopes of life; and *Euphronius*, tutor to *Antony*'s children, was employed to make propoſals to *Octavius*[1]. *Cleopatra*, alſo, privately ſent her crown and ſceptre, with a royal ſeal, as relinquiſhing all title to ſovereignty herſelf, and demanded only the kingdom of *Egypt* for her children: And *Antony* requeſted that he might be allowed to live as a private man at *Athens*, if *Octavius* was not willing that he ſhould ſtay in *Egypt*. It is added, that *Antony*, to ſoothe *Octavius*, had the baſeneſs to deliver up to him *Turullius*, who was one of *Cæſar*'s murderers, but who had ſerved him well. *Octavius* put *Turullius* to death, accepted of the preſents, and made no anſwer to Plut. Ant.

[1] He and *Cleopatra* at this time, according to *Dio*, gave the *toga virilis* to *Cæſario* and *Antyllus*, and made this ceremony an occaſion to regale the *Alexandrians*; perhaps, he thought alſo to ſtrengthen his intereſt, by ſhewing two ſucceſſors, who were already in a condition to ſupply his place and revenge him; but this precaution was of no uſe to him, and proved fatal to the two youths, who would have found more ſecurity under the robe of infancy.

Antony's

Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

Plut.

Antony's propoſitions, but ſent word to *Cleopatra*, *that there was no manner of favour which ſhe might not reaſonably expect, if ſhe would either put Antony to death, or baniſh him.* With this anſwer *Euphronius* returned, and with him *Thyrſus*, a freedman of *Octavius*, a perſon very artful and fit to manage an intrigue, who, coming with a meſſage from a young Emperor to an ambitious Princeſs poſſeſſed with a mighty opinion of her own charms, had no difficult acceſs to her. But theſe ſecret conferences between *Cleopatra* and him, and the honours ſhe did him, threw *Antony* into ſuch a furious paſſion of jealouſy, that he immediately ordered him to be cruelly beaten with rods, and in that condition ſent him to *Octavius*, with letters, that he had chaſtiſed *Thyrſus for inſulting over him at a time when his bad fortune had put him into an ill humour; but, if this proceeding offended him, he had his freedman Hipparchus by him, whom he might uſe after the ſame manner, and ſo be upon equal terms.* *Hipparchus* was the firſt of *Antony*'s freedmen that went over to *Octavius*. *Cleopatra* omitted nothing to clear *Antony*'s mind of jealouſy and ſuſpicion; ſhe redoubled her fondneſs and careſſes, and, when her birth-day came, ſhe kept it in a manner that was ſuitable to their deplorable condition; but *Antony*'s was celebrated with great ſplendor and magnificence; and all the gueſt were enriched by the noble preſents ſhe made on his account.

Dio, p. 448 & 449.

In the mean time *Octavius*'s forces advanced on each ſide of *Egypt*. *Cornelius Gallus* took poſſeſſion of *Paretonium*, which was the key of *Egypt*

gypt on the weſt ſide; and *Antony*, who flew with his army and fleet to wreſt it out of his hands, returned with great loſs, particularly of his ſhips. For *Gallus* had left the port open, but had ſtretched chains under the water in the mouth of the harbour, which he drew up by the help of machines as ſoon as *Antony*'s fleet had ſailed in, and then attacked them on all ſides: They were all burnt or ſunk. *Antony* had flattered himſelf that the four legions which had been given up to *Gallus* would declare for him, as ſoon as he ſhewed himſelf to them; but *Gallus*, when he appeared and attempted to ſpeak, cauſed all the trumpets to ſound, and made a ſally upon him with ſome ſucceſs. Y. R. 729. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

Octavius, on the other ſide, made himſelf maſter of *Peluſium*, the other key of *Egypt*. It was ſurrendered to him by *Seleucus*, and it was reported that this Governor had only followed *Cleopatra*'s orders; but ſhe, to clear herſelf, delivered up his wife and children into *Antony*'s hands. Near the temple of *Iſis* ſhe had built a magnificent ſepulchre[a]; into this place ſhe now removed her jewels, her gold and ſilver, and every thing ſhe had which was valuable, cauſing them to be covered with great quantities of combuſtible matter; making no ſecret of her intention, which ſhe declared to be to burn herſelf, if puſhed to it, with all her treaſure. She was ſenſible that this menace would have ſome effect upon *Octavius*, and ſhe was not deceived; for, in his march Plut. Dio, P. 449. Plut. Ant.

[a] According to *Dio*, l. li. p. 448, it was within the walls of the palace.

towards

A. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conf.

towards *Alexandria*, he omitted no occaſion of giving her aſſurances of his reſpect and his kind uſage.

The nigh approach of the enemy began now to rouſe *Antony*: It was plain that no other hopes were left him than of dying like a *Roman*, and this he fully reſolved upon. He gathered all the troops he had, and made a brave ſally on *Octavius*'s cavalry, which he drove back into their camp, and even put the camp itſelf into diſorder. Upon this advantage he entered *Alexandria* as in triumph, and went all armed to *Cleopatra*, to bring her the good news of his ſucceſs, preſenting one of his officers, who had behaved himſelf bravely in the fight. The Queen rewarded the valour of the man with an armour of gold; but that very night he went over to *Octavius*, which dangerous example very much troubled *Antony*. He tried to provoke *Octavius*'s temper, and challenged him to a ſingle combat; but he was coldly anſwered, *that, if Antony ſought death, he might find other methods to procure it.* *Dio* adds, that he endeavoured to debauch *Octavius*'s troops, and threw billets into his camp, promiſing 1500 drachma's to every one who would come over to him; which had no other effect than to raiſe in them a general indignation.

Plut. Ant.

Dio, p. 449.

Antony, now finding his affairs quite deſperate, reſolved to make the laſt puſh, both by ſea and land, with a full purpoſe to conquer honourably or die bravely. He ordered his people to treat him chearfully and fill him his wine plentifully;

per-

perhaps, ſaid he, *this may be the laſt ſervice you can do me, for to-morrow you may have another maſter, while I lie extended upon the ground, deſpiſed by all mankind.* Finding his friends much moved at this ſorrowful diſcourſe, he added, *However, I will not do you ſo great an injury as to lead you where death is more certain than victory.* At break of day, the *firſt of Auguſt*, he poſted all the troops he had remaining upon the riſing ground nigh the town, from whence he ſent orders to his gallies to engage the enemy. The fleet advanced in good order, but, as ſoon as *Cæſar*'s ſhips approached, the ſoldiers all held down their arms and ſaluted them: Theſe returning the ſalute, both fleets joined and ſtood over-againſt the city. His cavalry, ſeeing this, left him alſo and went over to *Octavius*'s camp; his infantry engaged, but was forced preſently to yield [t]. The unfortunate

A. R. 725. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

Oroſ. vi. c. 19. Dio, p. 449. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795.

[t] If theſe events followed ſo cloſe upon one another, it is not poſſible to defer the taking of *Alexandria* till the *29th of Auguſt*, the day which moſt writers have aſſigned: Or we muſt ſuppoſe the battle which preceded it later than the *firſt of Auguſt*. *Dio*, who always puts the worſt conſtruction upon actions, will have it that *Cleopatra* acted a treacherous part to *Antony* all along. She ordered *Peluſium*, he ſays, to be ſurrendered; ſhe made the army and fleet revolt to *Octavius*; ſhe gave out her death to engage *Antony* to kill himſelf and ſo get rid of him; and afterwards did all ſhe could to engage the affections of his enemy. M. l' Abbé *de St. Real* and M. le Preſident *de Monteſquieu* are of opinion that ſhe treacherouſly fled during the battle of *Actium*, with a deſign to ruin her lover, and make her court to *Octavius*. "*Yet this ſame Cleopatra*, ſays the Abbé, "*who ſeemed to live in Antony, treacherouſly abandoned him, and,*

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tunate *Antony*, abandoned thus by his men, and finding he could not die with glory in the field, returned back to *Alexandria*, overcome with a dreadful rage and fury, running and crying out, *that Cleopatra had betrayed him, when he had ruined all his fortunes for her ſake alone.*

The Queen, hearing of his tranſport, in a great fright retired to her monument, and ſecured the doors; and then made a report be ſpread that ſhe was dead, which was ſoon brought to *Antony*. This ſad and unexpected news recalled all that love and tenderneſs he had for this Princeſs. *O wretched Antony*, cried he, *what haſt thou here in this world, when fate has ſnatched from thee the only thing for which thou couldſt endure to live?* Then, returning to his cabinet, he laid aſide his armour and renewed his complaints: "*O Cleopatra*, ſaid he, *our ſeparation is not my greateſt grief, for we ſhall meet again; but what afflicts me moſt is, that I, who have commanded ſo many gallant men, ſhould be out-done by a woman in courage.* Immediately he called *Eros*, the moſt faithful of his freedmen, whom he had engaged by oath to kill

" *and, by her perfidious flight, delivered him into the power of his* " *enemy, whoſe affections ſhe determined with herſelf, from that* " *moment, to engage, if poſſible; a perfidiouſneſs of which we* " *ſee many examples, and which ſhould convince us, that, ſuch* " *is a woman's love, that we can never be ſecure of not be-* " *ing betrayed by her.*" Conſid. ſur Antoine. "*It evi-* " *dently appeared*, ſays Mr. le Preſident, *by the circumſtances* " *of her future conduct, that ſhe afterwards betrayed him:* " *Perhaps, that incomprehenſible ſpirit of coquetry, ſo predominant* " *in her ſex, tempted her to practiſe all her arts to lay a third* " *Sovereign of the world at her feet.*" Grand. des Rom. ch. XV.

him,

him, when he ſhould think it neceſſary; and now bad him perform his promiſe. *Eros* drew out his ſword, as if he deſigned to obey him; and, turning aſide, gave himſelf a wound which threw him dead at his maſter's feet. *Dear* Eros, *cried he, I thank thee for teaching me to do, myſelf, what thy regard for me did not permit thee to perform:* And, at the ſame time drawing his ſword and plunging it into his belly, he threw himſelf upon a bed that was near. The wound was mortal, but, the blood, by the ſituation of his body, being ſtopped, he ſoon came to himſelf, and moſt earneſtly begged of his friends, who were come into his apartment, to diſpatch him; but they all fled, leaving him in a miſerable condition, toſſing and ſtruggling in the greateſt anguiſh of pain. While he was in this ſituation, *Diomedes* came to him from *Cleopatra*, begging him, in her name, to ſuffer himſelf to be tranſported to the monument where ſhe was, which *Antony* readily conſented to. He was, therefore, brought to the place: But *Cleopatra*, having only her two women, durſt not open the door, and only let down cords from the window [u]. All the people of *Alex-*

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[u] *Dio*, who is ſenſible that this tragical hiſtory *is lame in many of its parts*, has tried to mend it: He ſays that the door of the monument, when once ſhut, could not be opened again; that the monument was not finiſhed at the top, and that the cords made uſe of to draw up *Antony* were the ſame the workmen made uſe of to pull up the ſtones. He has alſo given the women an eunuch to help them. But, good *Dio*, if *Cleopatra* did not love *Antony*, and gave out the report of her death in order to engage *Antony* to kill himſelf as

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andria were preſent at this ſad ſpectacle, and nothing appeared ſo lamentable as to view this great man, renowned for ſo many conqueſts and victories, bathed in his blood and juſt expiring, holding out his hands to *Cleopatra*, and faintly endeavouring to raiſe himſelf; and to ſee this famous Queen ſtriving, with her body almoſt out of the window, with the feeble aſſiſtance of her women, to pull him up, the people all the time ſeeming to aſſiſt her with their cries and tears. When, after much pains ſhe had drawn him in, ſhe embraced him, and laid him gently upon her bed, tearing all her clothes in a moſt violent manner, beating her face and breaſt, calling *Antony her Huſband, her Lord, her Emperor!* And, though her own misfortunes were very great, ſhe forgot them all at the ſight of this deplorable object. *Antony* begged of her to moderate the tranſports of her grief, and aſked for ſome wine, either becauſe he was thirſty, or becauſe he thought it would ſoon end him. After he had drank, he exhorted *Cleopatra to endeavour to ſave her life, if ſhe could do it with honour; and, for that end, Proculeius*, he told her, *would be her beſt friend in Cæſar's camp; that ſhe would not too deeply reflect upon the cruel turn of fortune which he felt in his laſt days, but rather think of that glory and renown he had long lived in, and that, after he had been the firſt man in the world, and the moſt illuſtrious of the Romans, he was at laſt overcome by a Roman.* Theſe, we are told, were his laſt words,

as you ſay, why did ſhe not let him die in peace? Why put him and herſelf to all this trouble?

after

after which he expired, in the fifty-third year of his age. Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

It cannot be denied but he was born with great natural endowments, which, notwithſtanding the profligacy of his life, he cultivated ſo as to capacitate himſelf for every great office of the State, both civil and military. After *Cæſar*'s death, we ſee him rouſed from the midſt of pleaſure and debauch, and an entire obſequiouſneſs to the Dictator's will, forming the true plan of his intereſt, and purſuing it with a ſurpriſing vigour and addreſs; till, after many and almoſt inſuperable difficulties, he obtained the ſovereign dominion which he aimed at. But, after the battle of *Philippi*, we find in him neither ſpirit nor prudence. The glory he reaped on that day, the influence he had over *Lepidus* and the greateſt Commanders of the army, *Ventidius*, *Pollio*, *Plancus*; the eſteem and affection of the ſoldiers, his own military ſkill, the immenſe riches of the Eaſtern provinces; undoubtedly gave him a great ſuperiority over young *Cæſar*. All which advantages he gradually loſt. He ſuffered his wife, her brother, and all his adherents, to be cruſhed in *Italy*, without taking his revenge, or demanding the leaſt ſatisfaction; he fooliſhly helped *Octavius* to deſtroy *S. Pompey*, who had ſued for his favour, and who was a thorn in his competitor's ſide, and a ſtrong barrier to his Eaſtern empire. He tamely ſaw his friend and ſaviour, *Lepidus*, deprived with ignominy of his dignity, his army, his provinces. He trifled away the treaſures of the Eaſt, and waſted his army in an inglorious

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war. When we compare this conduct with that ſpirit which he ſhewed after *Cæſar's* death, it is hard not to allow the ambitious and politic *Fulvia* a ſhare in the glory of his riſe to power, ſince, ſeparated from that active ſpirit, we ſee him weighed down by his indolence and ſenſuality.

Antony's bloody ſword was taken up by one of his guards, and carried to *Octavius*, with an account of his death. He retired into his tent, where he could not refrain from tears, when he reflected on the deplorable end of ſo great a man. He called in his friends, to whom he declared, that he had contributed nothing to the overthrow of *Antony* through any hatred or ambition: Shewing them the copies of the letters he had written to him, which contained nothing but juſt and reaſonable propoſals, and *Antony*'s anſwers full of paſſion and diſdain. After this he ſent *Proculeius* to employ his utmoſt addreſs to ſeize upon *Cleopatra*, being extremely deſirous to ſave her treaſure, but more eſpecially to grace his triumph with this Queen, who had ſo long triumphed over the *Roman* Commanders. *Cleopatra* refuſed *Proculeius* entrance, but, through the door, demanded *Egypt* for her children; which cauſed *Proculeius*, after obſerving the avenues of the monument, to return to *Octavius*, who, the ſame inſtant, ſent *Gallus* with him, to make her new propoſitions. While *Gallus* was diſcourſing with *Cleopatra* below, *Proculeius*, with two others, entered by the window at which *Antony* had been drawn up; and one of her women, perceiving it,

pre-

preſently cried out, *Wretched Princeſs, thou art taken alive!* Upon which *Cleopatra* turned about, and, ſeeing *Proculeius*, drew out a dagger to ſtab herſelf; but *Proculeius* caught hold of her arm, ſaying, *Madam, will you at once injure yourſelf and Cæſar, in depriving him of the moſt illuſtrious teſtimony he can give you of his generoſity; and make the beſt and gentleſt Prince in the world paſs for cruel and barbarous?* Whereupon he diſarmed her, ſearched her clothes leſt any poiſon ſhould be concealed about her, and, after he had ſecured her perſon, returned to *Octavius* with this joyful news. Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

Octavius was extremely ſatisfied to have this haughty Queen at his diſpoſal, who before had lifted the crown of *Egypt* above the empire of the *Romans.* He commanded *Epaphroditus*, one of his freedmen, to guard her with the greateſt care, and yet to ſerve her like a Queen; and made his entrance into *Alexandria* in the moſt ſolemn and pompous manner. The majeſty of *Octavius*, followed by ſo many armed ſoldiers, who breathed nothing but deſtruction, impreſſed the *Egyptians* with great fears, and they all fell proſtrate upon their faces before him. *Octavius* told them, *he pardoned the city for the ſake of its illuſtrious founder, for the extraordinary beauty of it, and for the great eſteem he had for Areius, their fellow-citizen and philoſopher*, who was then with him. Several Kings and *Roman* Senators are ſaid to have begged of him the body of *Antony*, to pay their laſt reſpects to him; but he would not de-

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prive *Cleopatra* of a ſatisfaction ſo dear to her: and alſo furniſhed her with what was requiſite for the pomp of the funeral, which ſhe ſolemniſed with extraordinary magnificence. *Octavius* now redoubled his complaiſance to the captive Queen, that nothing might occaſion the encreaſe of her afflictions; but her exceſſive melancholy, and the many blows ſhe had given her breaſt, threw her into a ſlow fever, which gave her great hopes of ending her ſorrows and her life in a ſhort time: She had, beſides, reſolved to abſtain from eating; a ſecret which ſhe truſted her phyſician with [x]. *Octavius* ſoon diſcovered her intention, and immediately threatened to put all her children to death, if ſhe perſiſted in her obſtinacy. This was the only thing ſhe could be ſenſible of, and the thoughts of this cauſed her to comply, and receive whatever they preſcribed to her.

Octavius reſolved to viſit *Cleopatra* and by his civilities to give her freſh aſſurance of his favour. He found her upon a plain bed [y], and, as ſoon as ſhe perceived him, ſhe roſe in a ſlight garment ſhe had upon her to throw herſelf at his

[x] This phyſician's name was *Olympus*, and *Plutarch* tells us that he left in writing the ſtory of *Cleopatra*'s end, from which he borrowed his account.

[y] *Dio* tells us, that the bed was very rich and elegantly adorned; that ſhe herſelf was clad in a negligent manner, but ſuch a one as greatly became her; that the cloſet was hung with *Julius Cæſar*'s images and pictures; and that ſhe had ready in her lap, to ſhew *Octavius*, all the letters ſhe had received from his father. He then tells us their whole converſation, and all her artful ſpeeches. It is thus the hiſtorians have taken the liberty to ornament theſe events, every one according to his notions of the actors.

feet,

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feet, with her hair in diſorder, her face torn, her breaſt bruiſed, her eyes red with weeping, and her voice weak and trembling; all which had not extinguiſhed the brightneſs of her eyes, nor deſtroyed the charms of her perſon. *Octavius* civilly lifted her up, and ſat down by her, and ſhe immediately entered upon the juſtification of her conduct, pretending that all ſhe had done was more out of fear of diſpleaſing *Antony*, than from her own inclinations: But, when *Octavius* began to confute every article of her excuſes, ſhe preſently turned the diſcourſe to move his compaſſion, as if ſhe deſired nothing more than to prolong her life; and delivered him an inventory of all her jewels and treaſure. *Seleucus*, her Treaſurer, accuſing her of concealing ſeveral things, *Cleopatra*, in a great rage, threw herſelf out of her bed, dragged him by the hair, and beat him ſeverely; which, *Dio* thinks, was only a pretence to ſhew *Octavius* her beautiful ſhape and body, which ſhe had too great a confidence in. However, *Octavius* only ſmiled at this action, and led the Queen to her bed. *O Cæſar*, cried ſhe, *after the honour of viſiting me in this miſerable condition, is it not cruel and barbarous that a vile ſlave ſhould accuſe me of laying aſide a few trifles, alas! not to adorn myſelf, but to preſent them to Livia and Octavia, that their generous interceſſion may in ſome meaſure procure to me your favour?* This diſcourſe gave great ſatisfaction to *Octavius*, imagining it implied a deſire ſhe had of living: And thereupon he aſſured her, *ſhe might keep her jewels, and that he would uſe her more generouſly than*

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ſhe could reaſonably hope for; and ſo retired, much pleaſed with his ſucceſs, having, as he ſuppoſed, over reached her: But the Queen had ſounded him every way, and deceived him.

Cleopatra was ſoon afterwards informed by *Dolabella*, one of *Octavius*'s favourites and her admirer, that *Octavius* had reſolved to ſet out ſoon for *Syria*, and had determined to ſend, within three days, her and her children away before him. Upon this information, ſhe ſent to beg leave to pay her laſt oblations to the memory of *Antony*, which was granted her. Whereupon ſhe was carried to the ſtately ſepulchre where *Antony*'s body was laid; and, attended by two women, ſhe fell upon her knees, embraced his tomb with extreme grief and paſſion, and, after a flood of tears, ſhe cried, *My deareſt Lord, I was a Queen and wore no chains, when I firſt placed thee in this monument; but, now that I pay my duties, I am Fortune's ſlave; my ſervile body is reſerved to grace the triumph of thy foes, on which I dare not ſo much as print the marks of my grief. Theſe tears, theſe pangs of grief, are the laſt tokens of the love and duty of thy Cleopatra, who now muſt be forced far from thee: No chance could ſeparate us while living, but our cruel deſtiny will part us in our deaths. And, as, by a ſtrange turn of fate, Egypt has afforded thee a tomb, ſo Rome will me: the only courteſy I ſhall receive from thy country. Yet I hope the heavenly powers that guard your happy abode (for ours have betrayed us) will ſtem the Conqueror's pride, and ſuffer him not to triumph*

over

over thee in my perſon. Hide me, therefore, here, and receive me into thy tomb; for, amongſt all my bitter griefs and heavy afflictions, none ere preſſed my ſoul ſo hard as living thus long without thee. After theſe lamentations, ſhe crowned the tomb with garlands and flowers, embracing it as if ſhe deſigned to grow to it. Then, as if her mourning was quite over, ſhe ordered her women to prepare her a bath; which, when ſhe had uſed, ſhe dreſſed herſelf in the richeſt manner, and ordered her table to be ſerved with the greateſt magnificence. While ſhe was eating, a country man came and deſired to ſpeak to the Queen: The guards ſtopped him, and would know what he carried in a baſket that he had in his hand. The *Egyptian* turned up ſome leaves and ſhewed them ſome fine figs in ſo innocent a manner, that they let him go. After dinner ſhe ſent a letter to *Octavius*, wherein ſhe earneſtly beſeeched him to permit her to be buried in the ſame tomb with *Antony*; and, clearing her room of all, except *Iras* and *Charmion*, ſhe is ſuppoſed to have applied her arm to the aſp that was brought her. *Octavius*, informed by her letter of what ſhe was about, ſent immediately ſome meſſengers, who found her dead upon a golden bed adorned with her royal robes, in the poſture of one aſleep, with *Iras* alſo dead at her feet, and *Charmion* juſt breathing and placing her diadem right. One of the meſſengers very angrily aſked, *Is this well done, Charmion? Extremely well,* replied ſhe, *and becoming a Princeſs deſcended from*

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ſo

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ſo noble a race of Monarchs; at which ſhe expired at her Miſtreſs's feet [z].

Thus died this famous Queen, in the thirty-ninth year of her age, having reigned twenty-two, twelve of which ſhe paſſed with *Antony*. *Octavius* ordered her a magnificent funeral, laying her body by *Antony*'s, according to her deſire: And her women alſo were interred with conſiderable pomp, to honour their fidelity. With her ended the *Ptolemean* race, after it had laſted two hundred and ninety-four years. Her ſon *Cæſario*, whom ſhe had by *Julius Cæſar*, was ſhortly after ſlain by *Octavius*'s orders, who was told by *Areius*, the philoſopher, that many *Cæſars were of dangerous conſequence*. Her two ſons by *Antony*, *Ptolemy* and *Alexander*, were led in triumph, after which they were diſmiſſed and were

[z] *Octavius* repreſented her in his triumph with an aſp ſticking to her arm, and it was the common perſuaſion that ſhe had made uſe of this animal to poiſon herſelf: Yet there was no ſpot or mark of poiſon upon her body, or any animal found in the monument. Only there were obſerved upon her arm two ſmall punctures, and, upon the ſand near the monument, ſome marks of the flight of an animal. It was ſuſpected, at the time, that ſhe and her maids had made uſe of a golden bodkin ſteeped in a very ſubtile poiſon, with which they pricked themſelves. *Dio* reports that the *Pſylli* were employed to ſuck out the poiſon, which they attempted in vain. This hiſtorian tells us very gravely, that the *Pſylli* were a peculiar people of *Africa*, (all males, for, ſays he, there is no *Pſylla*) of ſuch a natural complexion, that no poiſonous animal could hurt them, and they could cure any one bit or ſtung by ſucking out the poiſon: They alſo could know whether their wives were faithful by expoſing their children to aſps and other ſerpents.

no

no more heard of. Her daughter, *Cleopatra Selene*, was married afterwards to *Juba*, King of *Mauritania*. Her ſtatues were left ſtanding, a favour, ſays *Plutarch*, which *Archilius*, a faithful ſervant of the Queen, purchaſed at the price of a thouſand talents. *Antony*'s ſtatues were all thrown down in *Egypt* as well as *Rome*, by virtue of a decree of the Senate, by which all that had been enacted in his favour was made void; his birth-day was ranked among thoſe deemed *unfortunate*, and it was forbid in his family to bear the name of *Marcus*. *M. Tullius*, *Cicero*'s ſon, was Conſul when this decree paſſed, and he had the pleaſure of executing it. It was deſigned ſo probably by *Octavius*, when he took him for his collegue [a]. He thus made ſome atonement for his treachery to the father; and, by giving the family this opportunity of revenging his death upon *Antony*, fixed the blame of it alſo there; while the people looked upon it as divine and providential, that the final overthrow of *Antony*'s name and fortunes ſhould, by a ſtrange revolution of affairs, be reſerved for the triumph of young *Cicero*.

Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

Dio, l. li. p. 456.

Egypt was reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, and its immenſe riches were tranſported to *Rome*; which enabled *Octavius* to pay all he owed to his ſoldiers. It is ſaid that upon this event, and the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, every thing roſe to double their value, and the intereſt of money fell from twelve to four *per cent.*

[a] It appears, by the Capitoline marbles, that he bore this office from the ides of *September* to the calends of *November*.

A pro-

Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

A province, ſo rich and ſo extremely fertile in corn, was a very conſiderable acquiſition to the *Roman* empire. It is ſaid to have ſupplied the capital of the univerſe with proviſions for four months of the year. But it was neceſſary to take meaſures to keep in ſubjection a people naturally fickle and diſpoſed to ſedition and revolt, and to prevent the Governor of it from aſpiring to an independency in a kingdom ſo remote from *Rome*, and of ſuch difficult acceſs both by ſea and land. To prevent theſe two inconveniencies, *Octavius* would not ſuffer at *Alexandria* either Senate or public Council, as there was in every great town of the Empire; but ſubjected them to a Prefect, who had all the authority of a Viceroy, having under his command three legions, and ſome other bodies of troops leſs conſiderable diſtributed in different parts of the kingdom; and for this Prefect he neither choſe a Magiſtrate nor a Senator, but a man of low birth, without adherents, and who owed his whole fortune to him. The firſt inveſted with this important prefecture was *Cornelius Gallus*, more diſtinguiſhed by his literary talents than his military virtues: And it became a maxim of ſtate afterwards to follow theſe regulations [b]. However, *Egypt* was never happier than from this moment. The Governor made his troops cleanſe the canals into which the *Nile*, in its riſe, diſcharged itſelf, and

Tacit. Hiſt. i. c. 11. Strab. l. xvii.

[b] This Prefect was called *Auguſtalis*, and had under him an officer for the adminiſtring of juſtice, called *Juridicus*; and his retinue was made up of the houſhold, or the freedmen and dependants of *Cæſar*.

which

which were half ſtopped up with mud: And this greatly contributed to the fertility of the country and to the facility of the interior commerce. He reſtored the vigour of the laws, and encouraged the foreign trade. *Alexandria*, by theſe means, preſerved its rank of being the ſecond city of the world, which ſhe conſtantly enjoyed till the tranſlation of the Empire to *Conſtantinople*.

Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

Octavius [c] left *Egypt* towards the end of the fine ſeaſon, and went by *Syria* into *Aſia* to paſs there the winter. In all theſe countries, he applied himſelf to gain the affections of the people, and replaced in the temples the ſeveral ſtatues, which *Antony* had taken away to gratify *Cleopatra*; a reſtitution which both religion, and the taſte the *Greeks* had for arts, rendered extremely agreeable to them.

He had now an opportunity of concerning himſelf in the affairs of the *Parthians*. *Phraates*'s cruelty had driven them to a revolt, and they crowned *Tiridates* in his place. The fugitive Monarch had recourſe on this to the *Scythians*, and, with their troops, returning into his kingdom, he, during *Octavius*'s ſtay in *Egypt*, expelled *Tiridates*, who retired into *Syria*, with one of his enemy's ſons, whom he had made priſoner.

[c] Before he left *Alexandria*, he had the curioſity to view the coffin and body of *Alexander the Great*, which were taken out of the vault: And he paid his reſpects to the memory of that Prince by the preſent of a golden crown and ſcattering flowers upon the body. Being aſked whether he inclined to ſee thoſe of the *Ptolemy's*, he replied, *that he had a deſire to ſee a King, not dead men.*

Tiri-

Y. R. 713. Bef. Chr. 39. 42 Conſ.

Tiridates offered to *Octavius* to become his vaſſal, if he reſtored him to the *Parthian* throne; and *Phraates* demanded back his ſon from him, together with his rebellious ſlave *Tiridates*. But *Octavius* hearkened to neither of them: He gave *Tiridates* protection in *Syria*, and kept the ſon of *Phraates* as an hoſtage for his father's good behaviour.

Vell. Pat. ii. 88.

While he was ſtill in *Aſia*, *Mæcenas* diſcovered at *Rome* a conſpiracy againſt his life. The ſon of *Lepidus*, a raſh, impetuous young man, was at the head of it: He ſaw in him the deſtroyer of all his relations, and propoſed to revenge, by his death, his father whom he had ſpoiled of all his power and riches, his uncle *Brutus*, and, laſt of all, *Antony*, his father-in-law [d]. We have no full account of this plot: All we know of it is, that *Mæcenas* ſoon diſcovered it, and kept ſuch a vigilant eye upon the young man that he ſoon had proofs enough to convict him. He was ſeized and put to death: *Servilia*, his wife, deſired to follow her beloved huſband to his tomb, but, being carefully obſerved by her family, and, having no weapon, ſhe choked herſelf by ſwallowing live coals [e]. The mother of the

[d] *Antony*, according to *Dio*, had given one of his daughters in marriage to *Lepidus*. She was now dead, ſince there is no mention of her among *Antony*'s children, and the wife of young *Lepidus* was, at this time, *Servilia*.

[e] The ſame thing has been falſely reported of *Porcia*, *M. Brutus*'s wife. This fact reſts upon the authority of *Velleius Paterculus*, l. ii. c. 88. Æquetur Calpurniæ Antiſtii, Servilia Lepidi uxor, quæ vivo igni devorato præmaturam mortem immortali nominis ſui penſavit memoria.

con-

conſpirator, *Junia*, ſiſter of *M. Brutus*, was included in the criminal proceſs againſt her ſon, and *Mæcenas* was diſpoſed to ſend her to *Octavius*, or, at leaſt, he demanded ſecurity for her appearing, whenever ſhe ſhould be called upon. The Conſul, before whom that proceſs was carried on, was one who had been proſcribed, whom *Appian* calls *Balbinus*. Y.R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus V. } Conſuls.
Sext. Apuleius. }

Octavius entered upon his fifth conſulſhip in *Aſia*, and did not return to the city till about *Midſummer*; he was then received with an univerſal joy and ſatisfaction, as a perſon who had put an end to the miſeries and calamities of the State. The Senate had decreed him all ſorts of honours both human and divine, as they had formerly done to his father *Julius*: And, in the month of *Auguſt*, he triumphed, for three days together, with extraordinary ſplendor and magnificence. His firſt triumph was for his ſucceſs in *Illyricum*; the ſecond for the battle of *Actium*; and the third for the conqueſt of *Egypt*. Theſe triumphs were attended with the ſhutting of the temple of *Janus*, which had ſtood open 205 years; and by the performance of the divination called the *augury of ſafety*, which had not been renewed ſince the end of the third *Mithridatic* war: They were followed by great largeſſes made to the people and the ſoldiery; by entertainments of all kinds, and dedications of temples: And, to perpetuate the memory of a victory which had given him the empire of the world, he Y.R. 724. Bef. Chr. 28. 423 Conſ.

U. R. 724. Bef. Chr. 28. 423 Conſ.

he encreaſed the ſplendor and pomp of thoſe games which had been celebrated at *Actium* in honour of *Apollo* from the remoteſt antiquity, and ordered that they ſhould be renewed every five years. Upon the ſpot of ground there, where his army had encamped, he built a town which he called *Nicopolis*, the city of *Victory*, which ſoon, by the privileges granted it, became populous and flouriſhing. Another *Nicopolis* was built near *Alexandria* upon the field where *Antony* engaged him, and games were likewiſe inſtituted there.

Octavius was now ſole maſter of the *Roman* empire by the deſtruction of his enemies, but with no other legal title than that odious one of the *Triumvir*, which he had promiſed to reſign; and we are told, that he had thoughts of fulfilling his promiſe, and took the advice of his two moſt intimate friends, *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*. *Agrippa*, it is ſaid, adviſed him to reſtore the Commonwealth; but *Mæcenas* diſſuaded it. *Dio* has given us the ſpeeches which theſe two Miniſters made to their Maſter; and a long ſermon of *Mæcenas*, concerning the right adminiſtration of the Empire. The Senate had ordered that his name ſhould be inſerted in the public prayers for the ſafety of the Empire, in which hitherto none but the Senate and people had been named [f]: And

[f] It was alſo enjoined, according to *Dio*, to make libations to him in private entertainments; one may doubt whether this was enacted by public authority; but we learn, from an ode of *Horace*, that flattery introduced the cuſtom: Quiſ-

Y. R. 724. Bef. Chr. 28. 423 Conſ.

And, on the *firſt of January*, the Conſul, his colleague, and the whole Senate confirmed all his acts, and ſwore to obſerve his orders. This ceremony was obſerved ever after, and was no leſs than an oath of allegiance. But the firſt decree in his favour, made by the Senate, ſeems to have been that of the Tribunitian power for his whole life, which had already been offered him: Yet he does not ſeem to have accepted of this grant till after his eleventh conſulſhip. He accepted, however, of a very ſubſtantial one in that of *Imperator*, which gave him the command of all the armies: And this, joined to the conſulſhip, inveſted him in reality with all the military and civil power: And he continued himſelf in the conſulſhip, till he gradually was veſted with all the offices of the State. The following year he was made Cenſor with *Agrippa*. In fine, in his ſeventh conſulſhip, finding all matters ripe for his purpoſe, he went to the Senate, and, after a ſtudied ſpeech, reſigned his ſovereign power on the *ſeventh of January*. The houſe unanimouſly beſought him with many words and entreaties, *that he alone would take upon him the adminiſtration of the government*; and, after many arguments and perſuaſions, they compelled him, as it

> Quiſque —— alteris
> Te menſis adhibet Deum:
> Te multa prece, te proſequitur mero
> Defuſo pateris; & Laribus tuum,
> Miſcet numen, ut Græcia Caſtoris,
> Et magni memor Herculis.
>
> *L.* iv. *od.* 5.

Y. R. 724. Bef. Chr. 28. 723 Conſ.

were, to accept of the ſovereignty, under the title of *Prince*, a word ſometimes uſed under the Republic, as in the caſe of the *Prince* of the Senate: So that he would appear to be no more than the firſt man of the State. It was decreed, at the ſame time, that he ſhould have a conſtant guard, and that their pay ſhould be double that of the other ſoldiers.

Thus *Octavius Cæſar*, by his artifice, in pretending to lay down all his power and authority, got it confirmed to him both by the Senate and people. Yet, to ſoothe the Senate and make himſelf popular, he refuſed to govern all the provinces, or to have a perpetual power over ſuch as he ſhould take care of. Therefore, on the *ides of January*, or on *the* 13*th*, he made a diviſion of the Empire. The weaker and inward provinces being in a more peaceable poſture, he left them to be diſpoſed of by the people in favour of *conſular* and *prætorian* Senators, with theſe proviſions, that they ſhould not take poſſeſſion of them till five years after they had borne offices in the city: That they ſhould hold their government but for a year; and that, as ſoon as ſucceſſors were ſent them, they ſhould immediately depart from their provinces, and not fail of being at *Rome* within three months. Theſe provinces were *Africa* and *Numidia*, *Libya* called *Cyrenaica*, *Aſia Minor*, *Greece* with *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedonia*, *Crete*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and that part of *Spain* called *Bætica*. *Cæſar* kept the of reſt *Spain*, all *Gaul* and *Germany*, as alſo *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, and *Cyprus*, which were

were more expoſed to the incurſions of foreign enemies, and formed the barrier of the Empire. When any war broke out in any of the provinces in the department of the people, the Prince was to take it, and give up ſome other one more quiet in its ſtead: So *Auguſtus* afterwards took *Dalmatia*, and made over to the people *Cyprus* and *Gallia Narbonenſis*. By this contrivance he engroſſed the whole militia of the Empire, declaring, at the ſame time, that he only took this charge upon himſelf for ten years. Y. R. 724. Bef. Chr. 28. 423 Conſ.

On the 17*th* of the ſame month the Senate, in acknowledgment of the moderate uſe *Octavius* made of the ſovereign authority, decreed him many honours. A laurel was placed before his gates, and upon it were hung garlands of oak leaves, to ſignify that he was the perpetual Conqueror of the enemies of the State, and preſerver of the citizens[g]. His houſe was called the *Palatium*, wherever he took his abode. It Suet. in Oct. vii. Florus iv. 12.

[g] Poſtibus auguſtis eadem fidiſſima cuſtos
Ante fores ſtabis, mediamque tuebere quercum.
Ovid. i. *Metam.* 562.

State Palatina laurus, prætextaque quercu
Stet domus. *Id.* iv. *Faſt.* 953.

Cur tamen adpoſita velatur janua lauro;
Cingit et auguſtas arbor opaca fores?
Num quia perpetuos meruit domus iſta triumphos
An quia Leucadio ſemper amata Deo?
Ipſane quod feſta eſt, an quòd facit omnia feſta?
Quam tribuit terris pacis an iſta nota eſt?
Utque viret ſemper laurus, nec fronde caduca
Carpitur; æternum ſic habet illa decus.
Id. iii. *Triſt.* i. 39.

Y. R. 724. Bef. Chr. 28. 423 Conſ.

was debated whether they ſhould give him the title of *Romulus*, as ſecond founder of the State; but the more venerable name and leſs invidious one of *Auguſtus*, propounded by *Munacius Plancus*, was agreed to: For ſacred places and temples, conſecrated by Augurs, were termed *Auguſta* [h]. It was afterwards enacted that *the Prince* ſhould have, *in the city*, all the honours and power of the *Conſuls*, though he was not Conſul; and *in the provinces*, governed by prætorian and conſular Senators, the prerogatives of *Proconſul*, with a power ſuperior to that of the proper Governors. He was made *perpetual Maſter of Manners*: He had all the power of the cenſorſhip and tribunate: And he was inveſted with the office of High-Prieſt, and the preſidency in all the colleges of Augurs, Septemviri, and Quindecimviri. Thus the *Prince* got into his hands all the juriſ-

[h] Tractatum in Senatu, an, quia cond diſſet imperium, Romulus vocaretur, ſed ſanctius et reverentius viſum eſt nomen *Auguſti*, ut ſcilicet jam tum, dum colit terras, ipſo nomine et titulo conſecraretur. *Flor.* iv. 12. The æra of the *Roman* empire is dated from the *firſt of January* this year. This title of *Auguſtus* at firſt was only perſonal, and did not convey any idea of ſovereignty: Several of the Imperial family took it, who were never Emperors; as *Germanicus*. The female line, who had not the leaſt ſhadow of ſovereignty with the *Romans*, had it, as *Antonia Major*: And thus *Livia* firſt took the name of *Auguſta*, when ſhe was adopted by her huſband's will into the *Julian* family. After the time of *Diocleſian*, it was changed into *Semper Auguſtus*, which title the Emperor of *Germany* now enjoys. *Taylor*, p. 36. See *Mem. de Litt. de l' Academie de Inſcriptions*, t. xix, p. 432. Where Abbé *de la Bletirie* has taken the pains to enquire by what ſteps and at what period the title of *Auguſtus* came to expreſs the Imperial power.

diction and privileges of the ſeveral offices of the State; and what was granted to *Auguſtus* by degrees was afterwards conferred upon his ſucceſſors at once by one ſingle inſtrument, and deſpotic monarchy eſtabliſhed by a law, called afterwards *lex regia* [1]. *Auguſtus* conſented at firſt to receive the ſovereign power for ten years: When the ten years were expired, he was prevailed to accept it for ten more, and in this manner kept it all his life.—His ſucceſſors, in imitation of this example, though they had the Empire ſettled upon them without any limitation of time, yet, at the end of every ten years, celebrated ſolemn feaſts, as for a renewal or continuation of the ſovereignty in their perſons.

Y. R. 724. Bef. Chr. 28. 423 Conſ.

[1] A fragment of that relating to *Veſpaſian* was found engraven upon copper in the church of *St. John de Lateran* at *Rome*, and is now preſerved in the Capitol. It was alſo called *lex Imperii*, *Auguſtum privilegium*, *lex Auguſti*: And *Ulpian*, writing upon this law, uſes this expreſſion: *Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem: utpote cum lege regia, quæ de imperio ejus lata eſt, Populus ei et in eum omne ſuum imperium et poteſtatem conferat.* D. i. 4. 1. pr.

FINIS.

THE

THE CAPITOLINE MARBLES; OR, CONSULAR CALENDARS: CONTINUED.

633. Y. of *R.*

332. *Conſulſhip.* P. MANILIUS NEPOS.
C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Cenſors. L. Calpurnius Piſo Frugi.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Baleáricus.

The ſixty-firſt Luſtrum.

Tribunes of the People. P. Decimus Mus.
M. Octavius Nepos.
The other eight are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Tranſalpine Gaul. Q. Fabius Maximus,
Who triumphs over the *Allobroges* and *Bituitus*, King of the *Arverni*.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus,
Triumphs over the *Gauls* and the *Arverni*.

634. Y. of *R.*

333. *Conſulſhip.* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS DALMATICUS.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætors. Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus, &c.

Tribunes of the People. C. Marius Nepos. The other nine are unknown.

635. Y. of *R.*

334. *Conſulſhip.* M. PORCIUS CATO.
Q. MARCIUS REX.
The firſt died during his magiſtracy: And in his place was ſubſtituted
Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO.

Pro-Conſul in Dalmatia. L. Cæcilius Metellus,
Who triumphs over the *Dalmatians.*

636. Y. of *R.*

335. *Conſulſhip.* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
Q. MUTIUS SCÆVOLA.

Pro-Conſul in Liguria. Q. Marcius Rex,
Who triumphs over the *Stæni.*

637. Y. of *R.*

336. *Conſulſhip.* C. LICINIUS GETA.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS EBURNUS.

638. Y. of *R.*

337. *Conſulſhip.* M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS,
Who triumphs over the *Carni.*
M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Cenſors. L. Cæcilius Metellus Dalmaticus.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

The ſixty-ſecond Luſtrum.

Prætors. P. Decimus Mus.
C. Marius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. P. Rupilius Rufus. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in the country of the Carni. M. Æmilius Scaurus,
Who triumphs over the *Carni.*

639. Y. of *R.*

338. *Conſulſhip.* M. ACILIUS BALBUS.
C. PORCIUS CATO.

Prætor in farther Spain. C. Marius Nepos.

Prætor in Illyricum. T. Didius Nepos.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. M. Cæcilius Metellus.

640. Y. of *R.*

339. *Conſulſhip.* P. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CAPRARIUS.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Prætor, a ſecond time, for capital crimes. Lucius Caſſius Longinus.

Tribunes of the People. Sex. Peduceius Nepos. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. M. Cæcilius Metellus,
Who triumphs over the *Sardi.*

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. C. Cæcilius Metellus Caprarius,
Who triumphs over the *Thracians* and *Macedonia.*

Pro-Prætor againſt the Scordiſci. T. Didius Nepos,
Who triumphs over the *Scordiſci* and *Macedonia.*

641. Y. of *R.*

340. *Conſulſhip.* M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Prætor in farther Spain. L. Calpurnius Piſo Frugi.

642. Y. of *R.*

341. *Conſulſhip.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO BESTIA.

Prætors. L. Caſſius Longinus.
Ser. Sulpicius Galba, &c.

Tribunes of the People. C. Memmius Gallus.
C. Bœbius Sulca.

Quæſtor in Numidia. *P. Sextius Nepos.*

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. M. Livius Druſus.

643. Y. of *R.*

342. *Conſulſhip.* M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor at Rome. Q. Marcius Philippus.

Prætor in hither Spain. Q. Servilius Cœpio.

Tribunes of the People. P. Licinius Craſſus Dives.
C. Manilius Limetanus.
L. Annius Nepos.

L. Luci-

L. Lucilius Balbus. The other ſix are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. M. Livius Druſus,
Who triumphs over the *Scordiſci*.

644. Y. of *R*.

343. *Conſulſhip.* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NUMIDICUS.
M. JULIUS SILANUS.

Cenſors. M. Æmilius Scaurus.
M. Livius Druſus, who died during his magiſtracy.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. M. Minucius Rufus.

Pro-Conſul in Numidia. Sp. Poſthumius Albinus.

Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. Q. Servilius Cœpio.

645. Y. of *R*.

344. *Conſulſhip.* SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS, who did not enter upon the exerciſe of his office: And in whoſe place was ſubſtituted
M. AURELIUS SCAURUS.

Cenſors. Q. Fabius Allobrogicus.
C. Licinius Geta.

The ſixty-third Luſtrum.

Pro-Conſul in Numidia. Q. Cæcilius Numidicus.
Q. Servilius Cœpio,
Triumphs over the *Luſitani*.
M. Minucius Rufus,
Triumphs over the *Scordiſci* and *Triballi*.

646. Y. of *R*.

345. *Conſulſhip.* L. CASSIUS LONGINUS,
C. MARIUS NEPOS.
The firſt was killed during his magiſtracy: And in his place was ſubſtituted
M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS II.

Tribunes of the People. L. Manilius Mancinus.
C. Cœlius Caldus.
Sp. Thorius Balbus. The other ſeven are unknown.

Quæſtors

Quæſtors in Numidia. *L. Cornelius Sulla.*
Cn. Octavius Rufus.
Q. Cæcilius Numidicus,
Who triumphs over the *Numidians* and *Jugurtha.*

647. Y. of *R.*

346. *Conſulſhip.* C. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.
Q. SERVILIUS CŒPIO.

Prætors. M. Licinius Craſſus.
C. Annius Bellienus.
C. Flavius Fimbria, &c.

Ædiles. *P. Licinius Craſſus.*
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Mucius Scævola. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Numidia. C. Marius Nepos.

Pro-Prætor in Africa. L. Annius Bellienus.

Pro-Quæſtor in Numidia. *L. Cornelius Sulla.*

648. Y. of *R.*

347. *Conſulſhip.* P. RUTILIUS RUFUS.
CN. MALLIUS MAXIMUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. T. Albucius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. L. Licinius Craſſus.
C. Caſſius Longinus. The other eight are unknown.

Quæſtor in Sardinia. *Cn. Pompeius Strabo.*

Pro-Conſul in Narbonne-Gaul. Q. Servilius Cœpio.

Pro-Conſul in Numidia. C. Marius Nepos.
Who triumphs over the *Numidians* and *Jugurtha.*

Pro-Quæſtor in Numidia. *L. Cornelius Sulla.*

649. Y. of *R.*

348. *Conſulſhip.* C. MARIUS NEPOS II.
C. FLAVIUS FIMBRIA.

Ædile. *C. Aurelius Scaurus.*

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. C. Caſſius Longinus.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
C. Servilius Glaucia.
L. Marcius Philippus. The other ſix are unknown.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. T. Albucius Nepos.

650. Y. of *R.*

349. *Conſulſhip.* C. MARIUS NEPOS III.
L. AURELIUS ORESTES,
Who died during the term of his magiſtracy.

Prætor in Sicily. C. Servilius Caſca.

Prætor in hither Spain. M. Fulvius Nobilior.

Prætor in Macedonia. C. Calpurnius Piſo Cæſonius.

Prætor in Aſia. M. Antonius Nepos.

Curule Ædiles. *Q. Mucius Scævola.*
L. Licinius Craſſus.

651 Y. of *R.*

350. *Conſulſhip.* C. MARIUS NEPOS IV.
L. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Cenſors. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus.
C. Cæcilius Metellus Caprarius.

The ſixty-fourth Luſtrum.

Prætor in Sicily. L. Licinius Lucullus.

Tribunes of the People. A. Pompeius Rufus.
L. Apuleius Saturninus.
T. Junius Nepos. The other ſeven are unknown.
M. Antonius, after having given chace to the pirates of *Cilicia*, obtains at *Rome* the honour of a naval triumph.

652 Y. of *R.*

351. *Conſulſhip.* C. MARIUS NEPOS V.
Who triumphs over the *Teutones*, the *Cimbri*, and the *Ambrones*.
M. AQUILIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. M. Acilius Glabrio. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-

Pro-Conſul in Ciſalp. Gaul. Q. Lutatius Catulus, who triumphs over the *Teutones*, the *Cimbri*, and the *Ambrones*.

653. Y. of *R.*

352. *Conſulſhip.* C. MARIUS NEPOS VI.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors. C. Servilius Glaucia, &c.

Tribunes of the People. A. Nonnius Suffenas.
L. Apuleius Saturninus II.
Cn. Bœbius Tamphilus. The other ſeven are unknown.

Quæſtors. *Q. Servilius Cæpio.*
C. Saufeius Nepos.

Pro-Conſul in Sicily. M. Aquilius Nepos.

654. Y. of *R.*

353. *Conſulſhip.* M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor in farther Spain. L. Cornelius Dolabella.

Prætor in Aſia. Q. Mutius Scævola.

CuruleÆdiles. *C. Claudius Pulcher.*
L. Valerius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Porcius Cato.
Q. Pompeius Rufus.
Q. Calidius Nepos.
P. Furius Nepos.
C. Canuleius Dives.
C. Decianus.
Sex. Titius Nepos.
L. Equilius Firmanus.
L. Apuleius Saturninus III.
The tenth is unknown.

Quæſtor in Macedonia. *C. Junius Norbanus.*
M. Aquilius, after the defeat of the *Sicilian* ſlaves, receives the honour of an ovation.

655. Y. of *R.*

354. *Conſulſhip.* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.
T. DIDIUS NEPOS.

Prætor at Rome. M. Valerius Flaccus.

Prætor in Sicily. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Prætor in Macedonia. C. Sextius Calvinus.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. M. Duronius Nepos.
A. Plautius Silvanus. The other eight are unknown.
L. Cornelius Dolabella triumphs over the *Luſitani*.

656. Y. of *R.*
355. *Conſulſhip.* CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
Cenſors. L. Valerius Flaccus.
M. Antonius Nepos.

The ſixty-fifth Luſtrum.

Prætor in Sicily. L. Hortenſius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. T. Didius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Macedonia. C. Sextius Calvinus.

657. Y. of *R.*
356. *Conſulſhip.* CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
Prætor at Rome. Sex. Julius Cæſar.

658. Y. of *R.*
357. *Conſulſhip.* P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
Q. MUTIUS SCÆVOLA.
Prætor in Sicily C. Claudius Pulcher.
Tribunes of the People. C. Junius Norbanus.
L. Aurelius Cotta.
T. Didius Nepos.
L. Antiſtius Rheginus. The other ſix are unknown.
Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. T. Didius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. P. Licinius Craſſus.

659. Y. of *R.*
358. *Conſulſhip.* C. CŒLIUS CALDUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
Prætor at Rome. L. Cornelius Cinna.
Prætor in Aſia. L. Valerius Flaccus.
Tribune of the People. L. Seſtius Nepos.

Pro-Conſul

Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. T. Didius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. P. Licinius Craſſus.

660. Y. of *R.*

359. *Conſulſhip.* C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
M. HERENNIUS NEPOS.
Prætors at Rome. T. Manilius Nepos.
L. Cornelius Sylla.
Prætor in Sicily. Cn. Pompeius Strabo.
Prætor in farther Spain. P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica.
Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. T. Didius Nepos,
Who triumphs over the *Celtiberians.*
Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. P. Licinius Craſſus,
Who triumphs over the *Luſitani.*

661. Y. of *R.*

360. *Conſulſhip.* C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
M. PERPERNA NEPOS.
Cenſors. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

The ſixty-ſixth Luſtrum.

L. Licinius Craſſus.
Prætor in Sicily. C. Geminius Nepos.
Prætor in Aſia. L. Cornelius Sylla.
Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. C. Valerius Flaccus.
Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica.

662. Y. of *R.*

361. *Conſulſhip.* L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
Prætor at Rome. Q. Pompeius Rufus.
Prætor in Narbonne-Gaul. M. Porcius Cato Licinianus.
Prætor in Aſia. L. Caſſius Longinus.
Curule Ædile. *M. Claudius Marcellus.*
Tribunes of the People. M. Livius Druſus.
P. Tarquitius Nepos.
Q. Varius Hibryda Sucronenſis.
L. Fufius Calenus.

C. Papi-

C. Papirius Carbo.
Q. Rubrius Varro.
L. Luceius Nepos. The other three are unknown.

Quæſtor in Ciſalpine Gaul. Q. *Sertorius Nepos.*

The *Marſic* War.

663. Y. of *R.*

362. *Conſulſhip.* SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
P. RUTILIUS RUFUS,
Who was killed during his magiſtracy.

Prætor at Rome. Q. Varius Hibryda.
Prætor in Narbonne-Gaul. C. Cæcilius Metellus.
Curule Ædile. *C. Julius Cæſar Strabo.*
Tribunes of the People. C. Scribonius Curio.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.
M. Plætorius Nepos.
C. Velleius Nepos. The other ſix are unknown.
Pro-Prætor in Aſia. L. Caſſius Longinus.
Pro-Prætor in hither Spain. C. Valerius Flaccus.

664. Y. of *R.*

363. *Conſulſhip.* CN. POMPEIUS STRABO, who triumphs over the *Aſculans* and the *Picentines.*
L. PORCIUS CATO, who was killed during his magiſtracy.

Cenſors. P. Licinius Craſſus.
L. Julius Cæſar.

The ſixty-ſeventh Luſtrum.

Prætors at Rome. A. Sempronius Aſellio.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
App. Claudius Pulcher.
P. Gabinius Capito.
Tribunes of the People. L. Caſſius Longinus.
C. Papirius Carbo.
M. Plautius Silvanus. The other ſeven are unknown.

665.

665. Y. of *R.*

364. *Conſulſhip.* L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX.
Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS.

Præt. in Africa. C. Sextilius.

Tribunes of the People. P. Sulpicius Rufus, who was killed during his tribunate.
P. Antiſtius Labeo.
C. Bœbius Sulca. The other ſeven are unknown.

Quæſtor in Aſia. *L. Licinius Lucullus.*

666. Y. of *R.*

365. *Conſulſhip.* CN. OCTAVIUS, who was killed during his magiſtracy.
L. CORNELIUS CINNA, who was depoſed; and in whoſe place was ſubſtituted
L. CORNELIUS MERULA, who put himſelf to death before the end of his magiſtracy.

Prætor in Sicily. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Prætor in Apulia. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

Pro-Conſul in Aſia. L. Cornelius Sylla Felix.

Tribunes of the People. M. Virgilius Nepos.
P. Magius Chilo. The other eight are unknown.

667. Y. of *R.*

366. *Conſulſhip.* L. CORNELIUS CINNA II.
C. MARIUS VII, who died during his magiſtracy, and in whoſe place was ſubſtituted
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Cenſors. L. Marcius Philippus.
Marcus Perperna.

The ſixty-eighth Luſtrum.

Prætors at Rome. C. Marius Gratidianus.
P. Antiſtius Labeo.
L. Licinius Murena.

Prætor in Africa. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

Prætor in Macedonia. Q. Sentius Saturninus.

Pro-Conſul in Aſia. L. Cornelius Sylla.
Quæſtor at Rome. *C. Flavius Fimbria.*
Quæſtor in Aſia. L. Manlius Torquatus.

668. Y. of *R.*

367. *Conſulſhip.* L. CORNELIUS CINNA III.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Prætors. M. Lætorius Mergus.
Q. Granius Nepos.
P. Cornelius Cethegus.
Cn. Granius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. Sex. Lucilius Nepos.
M. Petreius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in Aſia. L. Cornelius Sylla.
Pro-Conſul in Africa. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

669. Y. of *R.*

368. *Conſulſhip.* CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO II.
L. CORNELIUS CINNA IV, who was killed before the end of his magiſtracy.

Tribune of the People. P. Popilius Lænas.
Quæſtor in Ciſalpine Gaul. *C. Verres.*
Pro-Conſul in Aſia. L. Cornelius Sylla.
Pro-Conſuls in Africa. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
C. Fabius Hadrianus.

670. Y. of *R.*

369. *Conſulſhip.* L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASIATICUS.
C. JUNIUS NORBANUS.

Prætors at Rome. P. Burrienus.
Q. Lucretius Offella.
Q. Antonius Balbus.
Q. Valerius Soranus.
Prætor in farther Spain. Q. Sertorius Nepos.
Prætor in Narbonne-Gaul. C. Valerius Flaccus.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. C. Popilius Lænas.
Cn. Aufidius Oreſtes.
C. Caſſius Varus.
Quæſtor in Italy. *M. Pupius Piſo Frugi Calpurnianus.*
Quæſtors in farther Spain. *L. Herculeius Nepos.*
C. Herennius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in Italy. L. Cornelius Sylla.
Pro-Conſul in Campania. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
Pro-Conſul in Ciſalpine Gaul. Cn. Papirius Carbo.
Pro-Prætor in Africa. C. Fabius Hadrianus.
Pro-Prætor in Aſia. L. Licinius Murena.

671. Y. of *R.*

370. *Conſulſhip.* C. MARIUS, who was killed during his magiſtracy.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO III, who was alſo killed during his magiſtracy.
Prætors at Rome. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS DAMASIPPUS, who was killed during his prætorſhip.
C. MARIUS GRATIDIANUS II, who was alſo killed during his prætorſhip.
Pro-Conſuls in Italy. L. Cornelius Sylla.
Q. Metellus Pius.
C. Junius Norbanus.
Q. Lucretius Offella.
Q. Valerius Soranus.
Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. Q. Antonius Balbus.
Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. P. Burrienus.
Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. Q. Sertorius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Africa. C. Fabius Hadrianus.
Pro-Prætor in Macedonia. C. Sentius Saturninus.

Pro-Prætor in Asia. L. Licinius Murena.

Quæstors in Italy. C. Verres.
L. Manlius Torquatus.

Dictator. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

G. of the Horse. L. Valerius Flaccus.

672. Y. of *R.*

371. *Consulship.* M. TULLIUS DECULA.
CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

Dictator. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA,
Who triumphs over *Mithridates* and *Asia* for two days.
The creation of eight Prætors for *Rome.*

Prætors at Rome. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.
Sex. Nonnius Suffenas.

Quæstors at Rome. *P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.*
L. Valerius Triarius.

Pro-Consul in Sardinia. L. Marcius Philippus.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Pro-Consul in Spain. C. Annius Luscus.

Pro-Prætor in Asia. M. Minucius Thermus.
L. Licinius Murena triumphs over *Mithridates* and *Asia.*

673. Y. of *R.*

372. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX II.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

Prætors at Rome. The first instance of eight Prætors. M. Fannius Strabo. The other seven are unknown.

Tribunes of the People. C. Herennius Nepos. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Macedonia. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.

Prætor in Cilicia. A person of the same name.

Prætor in hither Spain. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Prætor

Prætor in farther Spain. T. Didius Nepos. The creation of twenty Quæſtors.

Quæſtors in Cilicia. *C. Poblicius Malleolus.* The reſt are unknown.

Pompey, as yet a Roman Knight, triumphs over *Hiarbas* and *Africa.*

674. Y. of *R.*

373. *Conſulſhip.* P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.
AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Prætors at Rome. L. Octavius Nepos.
C. Calpurnius Piſo.
Q. Calidius Nepos, &c.

Prætor in Aſia. C. Claudius Nero.

Curule Ædiles. *L. Licinius Lucullus.*
M. Terentius Varro Luſculus.

Quæſtor in farther Spain. *C. Urbinius Rufus.*

Quæſtor in Cilicia. *C. Verres.*

675. Y. of *R.*

374. *Conſulſhip.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
L. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Cn. Cornelius Dolabella triumphs over *Macedonia.*

Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

Pro-Conſul in Sicily. C. Claudius Marcellus.

676. Y. of *R.*

375. *Conſulſhip.* D. JUNIUS BRUTUS LEPIDUS.
MAM. ÆMILIUS LIVIANUS.

Prætors at Rome. Cn. Aufidius Oreſtes Aurelianus.
L. Licinius Lucullus, &c.

Pro-Conſul at Rome. App. Claudius Pulcher.

Pro-Conſul in Italy. Q. Lutatius Catulus.

Pro-Prætor in Ciſalpine Gaul. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
Pro Conſul in Cilicia. P. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus.
Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
Prætor in Sicily. Cn. Junius Norbanus.
Prætor in Narbonne-Gaul. M. Fonteius Capito.
Pro-Prætor in Aſia. Cn. Terentius Varro.
Tribune of the People. M. Turpilius Nepos.

677. Y. of *R.*

376. *Conſulſhip.* CN. OCTAVIUS,
C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.
Prætors at Rome. L. Titius Nepos.
M. Terentius Varro Lucullus.
L. Furius Philus, &c.
Prætor in Africa. L. Licinius Lucullus.
Prætor in Achaia. L. Gellius Poblicola.
Prætor in Illyricum. Cn. Aufidius Oreſtes.
Prætor in Sicily. Sex. Peduceius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. App. Claudius Pulcher.
Pro-Conſuls in Italy. Mam. Æmilius Lepidus.
D. Junius Brutus.
Tribune of the People. Cn. Sicinius Nepos, who was killed during his tribunate.
Quæſtor in farther Spain. *C. Memmius Gallus*, who was killed during his quæſtorſhip.
Quæſtor in Italy. *C. Ælius Stalenus Pætus.*
Pro-Conſuls in Spain. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Conſul in Narbonne-Gaul. M. Fonteius Capito.
Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. App. Claudius Pulcher.

678.

678. Y. of *R*.

377. *Conſulſhip.* L. OCTAVIUS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætors at Rome. Q. Caſſius Longinus.
C. Licinius Sacerdos.
P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.
M. Antonius Nepos.
M. Cæſius Nepos, &c.

Tribune of the People. Q. Opimius Nepos.

Pro-Conſuls in Spain. Q. Cæcilius Pius Numidicus.
Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Pro Conſul in Cilicia. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. C. Scribonius Curio.

Pro-Conſul in Bithynia. M. Junius Silanus.

Pro-Conſul in Aſia. C. Claudius Nero.

Pro-Conſul in Sicily. Sex. Peduceius Nepos.

Pro-Conſul in Narbonne-Gaul. M. Fonteius Capito.

Pro-Conſul in Illyricum. Cn. Aufidius Oreſtes Aurelianus.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. M. Terentius Varro Lucullus.

Pro-Conſul in Achaia. L. Gellius Poblicola.

Pro-Conſul in Bithynia. A. Pompeius Bithynicus.

Pro-Quæſtor in Sicily. M. Tullius Cicero.

Pro-Quæſtor in Bithynia. L. Volteius Strabo.

679. Y. of *R*.

378. *Conſulſhip.* L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
M. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætor at Rome. C. Verres.

Prætor in Narbonne-Gaul. M. Fonteius Capito.

Tribune of the People. L. Quinctius.

680. Y. of *R.*

379. *Conſulſhip.* M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS.
C. CASSIUS VARUS.

Pro-Conſul in Chalcedon. M. Aurelius Cotta.

Prætor in Sicily. C. Verres.

681. Y. of *R.*

380. *Conſulſhip.* L. GELLIUS POBLICOLA.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. C. Servilius Curio.

Tribune of the People. M. Lollius Palicanus.

682. Y. of *R.*

381. *Conſulſhip.* CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA.

Prætors. M. Licinius Craſſus.
Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Pro-Conſul in Pontus. L. Licinius Lucullus.

Cn. Pompeius triumphs over *Spain.*

683. Y. of *R.*

382. *Conſulſhip.* M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

Cenſors. L. Gellius Poblicola.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus.

The ſixty-eighth Luſtrum.

Prætors at Rome. M. Acilius Glabrio.
L. Aurelius Cotta.

684. Y. of *R.*

383 *Conſulſhip.* Q. HORTENSIUS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CRETICUS.

Ædiles.

Ædiles. *M. Tullius Cicero,*
M. Cæsonius.
Prætors. M. Pupius Piso,
Who triumphs over *Spain.*
Q. Lutatius Catulus.

685. Y. of *R.*

384. *Consulship.* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, who died before he entered on his office.
Q. MARCIUS REX.
Pro-Consul in Crete. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.
Pro-Consul in Pontus. L. Licinius Lucullus.

686. Y. of *R.*

385. *Consulship.* C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.
Tribunes of the People. A. Gabinius.
L. Roscius Otho.
C. Cornelius.
C. Manilius.

687. Y. of *R.*

386. *Consulship.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.
Prætor in Africa L. Sergius Catilina.
Prætors at Rome. M. Tullius Cicero.
P. Vatinius.

688. Y. of *R.*

387. *Consulship.* L. AURELIUS COTTA.
L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
Tribune of the People. C. Papius.
Censors. Q. Lutatius Catulus.
L. Licinius Crassus. They both abdicate their office.

689. Y. of *R.*

388. *Consulship.* L. JULIUS CÆSAR.
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.
Censors. L. Aurelius Cotta.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

690. Y. of *R.*

389. *Consulship.* M. TULLIUS CICERO.
C. ANTONIUS.

Quæſtor.	*T. Fadius.*
Prætors at Rome.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.
	Q. Pompeius Rufus.
	C. Sulpicius Gallus.
	L. Valerius Flaccus.
	C. Coſconius Nepos.
	P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura II.
	L. Afranius Nepos.
	C. Pomptinius.
Curule Ædiles.	*L. Julius Cæſar.*
	P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.
Tribunes of the People.	P. Servilius Rullus.
	L. Cæcilius Metellus.
	T. Atius Labienus.
	T. Ampius Balbus.
Pro-Conſul againſt Mithridates.	Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Conſul in Apulia.	L. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.
Pro-Conſul in Aſia.	P. Orbius.
Pro-Quæſtors in Pontus.	*P. Plautius Hypſæus.*
	M. Æmilius Scaurus.

L. Licinius Lucullus triumphs over *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*; and over *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*.

691. Y. of *R.*

390. *Conſulſhip.*	D. JUNIUS SILANUS.
	L. LICINIUS MURENA.
Prætors.	C. Julius Cæſar.
	Q. Tullius Cicero.
	C. Virgilius Nepos.
	M. Atius Balbus.
	M. Valerius Meſſala.
	M. Calpurnius Bibulus.
Tribunes of the People.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.
	L. Calpurnius Beſtia.
	M. Porcius Cato.
	Q. Minucius Thermus.
Quæſtors.	*P. Sextilius Nepos.*
	M. Curius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in Pontus.	Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Pro-

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. C. Antonius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in Ciſalp. Gaul. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.
Pro-Conſul in Illyricum. C. Marcius Figulus.
Pro-Conſul in Tranſalp. Gaul. C. Pomptinius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. C. Coſconius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in Africa. Q. Pompeius Rufus.
Pro-Conſul in Aſia. L. Valerius Flaccus.
Quæſtor in Macedonia. *P. Sextius Nepos.*
Quæſtor in Ciſalp. Gaul. *T. Fadius Gallus.*

Q. Cæcilius triumphs for the iſland of *Crete.*

692. Y. of *R.*

391. *Conſulſhip.* M. PUPIUS PISO.
M. VALERIUS MESSALA NIGER.
Cenſors. Unknown.

The ſixty-ninth Luſtrum.

Prætors at Rome. C. Octavius Rufus, the father of the Emperor *Auguſtus.*
L. Calpurnius Piſo Cæſorinus.
Curule Ædile. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Fufius Calenus.
C. Cornutus.
M. Aufidius Lurco.
Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. C. Antonius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Sicily. C. Virgilius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in farther Spain. C. Julius Cæſar.
Pro-Prætor in Aſia. Q. Tullius Cicero.
Preſident in Syria. M. Æmilius Scaurus.

Preſid.

Presid. in Narbonne Gaul. C. Pontinius Nepos.
Pro-Quæstor in Macedonia. P. Sestius.

Pompey triumphs for his conquests over the chief countries of *Asia*, and over the Kings *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*.

693. Y. of *R.*

392. *Consulship.* L. AFRANIUS NEPOS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Prætors at Rome. P. Cornelius Spinther.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.
Ædiles. *M. Terentius Varro.*
C. Licinius Murena.
Tribunes of the People. L. Flavius Nepos.
C. Herennius Nepos.
M. Lollius Palicanus.
Q. Minucius Rufus.
M. Servilius Geminus.
T. Posthumius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Macedonia. C. Octavius Rufus.
Pro-Prætor in Asia. Q. Tullius Cicero.
Pro-Prætor in Narbonne Gaul. C. Pontinius.
President in Syria. M. Æmilius Scaurus.
Quæstor in Macedonia. *M. Æmilius Paulus.*

694. Y. of *R.*

393. *Consulship.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR.
M. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS.

Prætors at Rome. Licinius Crassus Dives.
Q. Fufius Calenus.
Q. Claudius Flamininus.
T. Vettius.
L. Apuleius Nepos.
L. Piso Cæsonius.
Tribunes of the People. P. Vatinius Nepos.
C. Cosconius Nepos.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Q. An-

Tribunes of the People.	Q. Ancharius Nepos.
	C. Fannius Strabo.
	Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio.
	C. Nigidius Figulus.
Quæſtor at Rome.	*Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.*
Pro-Conſul in Ciſalp. Gaul.	L. Afranius.
Pro-Conſul in Tranſalpine Gaul.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.
Prætor in hither Spain.	P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.
Prætor in Syria.	L. Marcius Philippus.
Prætor in Sicily.	C. Virgilius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Aſia.	Q. Tullius Cicero.
Pro-Prætor in Macedonia.	C. Octavius Rufus.
Quæſtor in Campania.	*Q. Cæcilius Baſſus.*
Pro-Quæſtor in Macedonia.	*L. Æmilius Paulus.*

695. Y. of R.

394. *Conſulſhip.*	L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONINUS,
	A. GABINIUS NEPOS.
Prætors.	L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
	C. Memmius Gemellus.
	L. Flavius Nepos.
	L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.
	P. Nigidius Figulus.
	T. Ampius Balbus.
	M. Terentius Varro.
Curule Ædiles.	*M. Æmilius Scaurus.*
	P. Plautius Hypſæus.
Plebeian Ædiles.	*L. Calpurnius Beſtia.*
	M. Lollius Palicanus.
Tribunes of the People.	P. Claudius Pulcher.
	L. Antiſtius Nepos.
	P. Ælius Ligus.
	Cn. Manlius Nepos.
	L. Novius Nepos.

Tribune of, &c. Q. Terentius Culeo.
Pro-Conſul in Tranſalpine Gaul and Illyricum. C. Julius Cæſar.
Prætor in Africa. T. Vettius.
Prætor in Macedonia. L. Apuleius Nepos.
Prætor in Syria. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.
Pro-Prætor in Sicily. C. Virgilius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Cyprus. M. Porcius Cato.
Quæſtor in Cyprus. M. Canidius Craſſus.

696. Y. of *R.*

395. *Conſulſhip.* P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

Prætors at Rome. L. Cæcilius Rufus.
App. Claudius Pulcher.
M. Calidius Nepos.
C. Cornutus.

Tribunes of the People. T. Annius Milo Papianus.
P. Sextius Nepos.
C. Seſtilius Nepos.
M. Ciſpius Lævus.
T. Fadius Gallus.
M. Curius Nepos.
Q. Fabricius Nepos.
C. Meſſius Nepos.
Sex. Atilius Serrarus.
N. Quinctius Gracchus.

Pro-Conſul in Tranſalpine Gaul and Illyricum. C. Julius Cæſar.
Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. L. Calpurnius Piſo Cæſoninus.
Pro-Conſul in Syria. A. Gabinius Nepos.

Præ

Præt. in Bithynia and Pontus. C. Memmius Gemellus.
Prætor in Cilicia. T. Ampius Balbus.
Pro-Prætor in Cyprus. M. Porcius Cato.

697. Y. of *R.*

396. *Conſulſhip.* CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS.
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
Prætors at Rome. C. Claudius Pulcher.
T. Poſthumius Nepos.
Q. Ancharius Nepos.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
M. Æmilius Scaurus.
Curule Ædiles. *P. Clodius Pulcher.*
M. Claudius Marcellus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Porcius Cato.
Sex. Nonnius Suffenas.
L. Procilius Nepos.
A. Plautius Silvanus.
L. Racilius Nepos.
C. Caſſius Longinus.
L. Caninius Gallus.
Antiſtius Severus.
P. Rutilius Lupus.
Cn. Plancius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in the Gauls. C. Julius Cæſar.
Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. L. Calpurnius Piſo Cæſoninus.
Pro-Conſul in Syria. A. Gabinius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in Cilicia and Cyprus. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.
Prætor in Sardinia. App. Claudius Pulcher.
Prætor in Africa. Q. Valerius Orca.

698. Y. of *R.*

397. *Conſulſhip.* CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, the ſecond time.
M. LI-

397. *Conſulſhip.* M. LICINIUS CRASSUS, the ſecond time.
Cenſors. M. Valerius Meſſala Niger.
M. Calpurnius Bibulus.

The ſeventieth Luſtrum.

Prætors at Rome. P. Vatinius Nepos.
C. Coſconius Nepos.
C. Fannius Strabo.
C. Fannius Nepos.
Curule Ædiles. *L. Æmilius Paulus.*
L. Sempronius Atratinus.
Plebeian Ædile. *C. Meſſius Nepos.*
Tribunes of the People. C. Trebonius Aſper.
C. Atteius Capito.
P. Aquilius Gallus.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.
Pro-Conſul in the Gauls. C. Julius Cæſar.
Pro-Conſul in Syria. A. Gabinius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in Cilicia and Cyprus. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.
Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. Q. Ancharius.
Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. M. Æmilius Scaurus.
Prætor in Aſia. C. Clodius Pulcher.
Quæſtors. *L. Roſcius Nepos.*
C. Scribonius Curio.

699. Y. of *R.*

398. *Conſulſhip.* L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
Prætors. T. Annius Milo Papianus.
C. Albius Nepos.
M. Portius Cato.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus.
Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

Curule

Curule Ædiles. *Cn. Plancius Nepos.*
A. Plautius Silvanus.
Plebeian Ædile. *Q. Pedius Nepos.*
Tribunes of the People. C. Memmius Nepos.
D. Lælius Balbus.
Terentius Varro.
Q. Mucius Scævola.
Quæſtors. *Fauſtus Cornelius Sylla.*
A. Hirtius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in the Gauls. C. Julius Cæſar.
Pro-Conſul in Spain. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Conſul in Syria. M. Licinius Craſſus.
Pro-Conſul in Cilicia and Cyprus. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.
Pro-Prætor in Aſia. C. Clodius Pulcher.
Quæſtors. *M. Licinius Craſſus.*
Q. Caſſius Longinus.
C. Caſſius Longinus.
L. Cornelius Balbus.
C. Lælius Nepos.
M. Tullius Nepos.
C. Sextius Gallus.
C. Pomtinius Nepos triumphs over the *Allobroges.*

700. Y. of *R.*
399. *Conſulſhip.* CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
M. VALERIUS MESSALA.
Prætors at Rome. L. Æmilius Paulus.
P. Seſtius Nepos.
Voconius Nepos.
Ædiles. *M. Favonius Nepos.*
M. Juventius Laterenſis.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Pompeius Rufus.
C. Lucceius Hirrus.
P. Licinius Craſſus Junianus.
M. Cœlius Vicinianus.
Pro-Conſul in the Gauls. C. Julius Cæſar.

Pro-Conſul in Spain. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Conſul in Syria. M. Licinius Craſſus.
Pro-Conſul in Cilicia and Cyprus. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

701. Y. of *R.*
400. *Conſulſhip.* CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS alone, the third time. Seven months after he aſſociated with him
C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS SCIPIO.

Prætors at Rome.
A. Manlius Torquatus.
L. Fabius Nepos.
Favonius Nepos.
M. Conſidius Nonianus.

Tribunes of the People.
Q. Pompeius Rufus.
T. Munatius Plancus Burſa.
C. Salluſtius Criſpus.
M. Cœlius Rufus.
Manilius Caninianus.
M. Vibullius Rufus.
L. Livineius Regulus.

Pro-Conſul in the Gauls. C. Julius Cæſar.

Under *Pompey*'s orders.

Pro-Conſuls in Spain. L. Afranius.
M. Petreius.
Pro-Conſul in Cilicia and Cyprus. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
Prætor in Achaia. L. Caninius Gallus.
Quæſtor in the Gauls. *M. Antonius Nepos.*

702. Y. of *R.*
401. *Conſulſhip.* SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Prætors at Rome.
A. Plautius Silvanus.
M. Juventius Laterenſis.
M. Favonius.
C. Aleius Capito.

Pro Prætor in the Gauls. C. Julius Cæſar.

Pro-

Pro-Prætor in Spain. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Prætor in Syria. M. Calpurnius Bibulus.
Pro-Prætor in Cilicia and Cyprus. M. Tullius Cicero.
Pro-Prætor in Aſia. Q. Minucius Thermus.
Pro-Prætor in Africa. P. Atius Varro.
Quæſtors in Cilicia and Cyprus. *Cn. Voluſius Saturninus.* *L. Meſſinius Rufus.*
Quæſtor in Syria. *Cn. Salluſtius Nepos.*
Pro-Quæſtor in the Gauls. *M. Antonius Nepos.*
Pro-Quæſtor in Syria. *C. Caſſius Longinus.*

P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther triumphs for *Cilicia.*

703. Y. of R.

402. *Conſulſhip.* L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
Cenſors. Appius Claudius Pulcher.
L. Calpurnius Piſo Cæſoninus.

The ſeventy-firſt Luſtrum.

Prætors at Rome. C. Titius Rufus.
C. Curtius Peduceianus.
M. Portius Cato, the ſecond time.
M. Livius Druſus.
Curule Ædiles. *M. Cœlius Rufus.*
M. Octavius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. C. Scribonius Curio.
C. Furnius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in the Gauls. C. Julius Cæſar.
Pro-Conſul in Spain. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Conſul in Syria. M. Calpurnius Bibulus.

Pro-Conſul in Cilicia and Cyprus. M. Tullius Cicero.
Pro-Prætor in Sicily. Furfanius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Africa. C. Conſidius Longus.
Quæſtor in Cilicia. *C. Cælius Caldus.*
Quæſtor in Syria. *L. Marius Nepos.*
Quæſtor in Macedonia. *T. Antiſtius.*
Pro-Quæſtor in Cilicia. *L. Meſſinius Rufus.*
Pro-Quæſtor in Aſia. *C. Antonius Nepos.*

704. Y. of *R.*

403. *Conſulſhip.* C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.
Dictator. C. JULIUS CÆSAR.
Prætors. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
L. Roſcius Nepos.
C. Allienius Nepos.
C. Sofius Nepos.
L. Manlius Torquatus.
P. Rutilius Lupus.
C. Coponius Nepos.
Sex. Peduceius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. M. Antonius Nepos.
Q. Caſſius Longinus.
C. Caſſius Longinus.
L. Cæcilius Metellus.
L. Marcius Philippus.
A. Hirtius Nepos.
C. Lælius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in Syria. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Scipio.
Pro-Prætor in Sicily. M. Porcius Cato.
Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. M. Aurelius Cotta.

Pro-

Pro-Prætor in Africa. L. Ælius Tubero.
Pro-Prætor in Cilicia and Cyprus. P. Seſtius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Bithynia and Pontus. Calviſius Sabinus.

705. Y. of *R.*

404. *Conſulſhip.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR, the ſecond time.
P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.
Prætors. C. Trebonius Nepos.
M. Cœlius Rufus.
Q. Pedius.
P. Sulpicius Galba.
A. Poſthumius Albinus.
Ædiles. C. Albius Carrinas.
C. Marcius Figulus.
L. Cornelius Balbus.
Tribune of the People. A. Hirtius.
Quæſtors. *M. Claudius Marcellus.*
P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.
C. Plætorius.
T. Claudius Nero.

706. Y. of *R.*

405. *Conſulſhip.*
Dictator II. C. JULIUS CÆSAR.
M. of the Horſe. M. Antonius.
Q. FUFIUS CALENUS.
PUBLIUS VATINIUS.
Prætors. L. Muſſidius Longus.
C. Salluſtius Criſpus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Cornelius Balbus.
P. Cornelius Dolabella.
L. Trebellius.
C. Aſinius Pollio, &c.
Quæſtor in Aſia. *M. Apuleius.*
Quæſtor in Syria. *Sex. Julius Cæſar.*
Quæſtor in Cyprus. *C. Sextilius Rufus.*

707. Y. of *R.*

406. *Conſulſhip.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR, the third time.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Ædiles, *L. Cornelius Balbus.*
Vopiſcus Julius Cæſar.

Tribune of the People. P. Ventidius Baſſus.

708. Y. of *R.*

407. *Conſulſhip.*

Dictator III. C. JULIUS CÆSAR,
Conſul IV. ſine collega.

G. of the Horſe. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Before the end of the year, Cæſar nominates to the conſulſhip
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.
CAIUS TREBONIUS, who dies, and in whoſe place is ſubſtituted
C. CANINIUS REBILUS.

Tribunes of the People. Pontius Aquila.
L. Munacius Plancus.

Curule Ædiles. *Q. Hortenſius Nepos,*
P. Sura Nepos.

Plebei. Ædiles. *L. Trebellius Nepos,*
L. Ælius Lamia.

Quæſtor in Syria. *C. Antiſtius Vetus.*

Quæſtor in farther Spain. *L. Cornelius Balbus.*

709. Y. of *R.*

408. *Conſulſhip.*

Dictator IV. C. JULIUS CÆSAR,
Conſul V. with
M. ANTONIUS.

Before the end of the year Cæſar appoints to his place
P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

Prætors, M. Junius Brutus Cœpio.
Caius Caſſius, &c.

Tribunes of the People, L. Ceſetius Flavus.
C. Epidius Marullus.
C. Helvius Cinna.

710. Y.

710. Y. of *R.*

409. *Conſulſhip.* A. HIRTIUS.
C. VIBIUS PANSA.
In whoſe room were ſubſtituted
C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS.
Q. PEDIUS.
And, in the room of theſe,
P. VENTIDIUS.
CAIUS CARRINNAS.

Prætors. Q. Gallius Lupercus.
M. Cornutus.
M. Acilius Craſſus.
Cn. Munacius Plancus, &c.

Tribunes of the People. P. Servilius Caſca.
P. Titius.
P. Apuleius, &c.

711. Y. of *R.*

410. *Conſulſhip.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II.
L. MUNACIUS PLANCUS.

Prætors. L. Cornelius Balbus.
L. Ælius Lamia.

712. Y. of *R.*

411. *Conſulſhip.* L. ANTONIUS.
P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS II.

Prætors. T. Claudius Nero.
L. Marcius Cenſorinus, &c.

Quæſtors. *C. Rubellius.*
Q. Conſidius Gallus.
L. Egnatius Rufus.
P. Servilius Poſthumus, &c.

713. Y. of *R.*

412. *Conſulſhip.* CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
C. ASINIUS POLLIO.
In whoſe room were ſubſtituted
Q. CORNELIUS BALBUS.
P. CANIDIUS CRASSUS.

Prætors. M. Vipſanius Agrippa.
C. Coponius.

Tribune of the People, P. Falcidius.

714. Y. of *R.*

413. *Conſulſhip.* L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.
C. CALVISIUS SABINUS.

715. Y. of *R.*
414. *Conſulſhip.* APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.
Curule Ædile. *P. Rutilius Rufus.*

716. Y. of *R.*
415. *Conſulſhip.* M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA.
L. CANINIUS GALLUS.
Ædile. *M. Oppius Nepos.*

717. Y. of *R.*
416. *Conſulſhip.* L. GELLIUS POBLICOLA.
M. COCCEIUS NERVA.
Curule Ædile. *Q. Catulus Nepos.*

718. Y. of *R.*
417. *Conſulſhip.* L. CORNIFICIUS.
SEXT. POMPEIUS.

719. Y. of *R.*
418. *Conſulſhip.* M. ANTONIUS II.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

720. Y. of *R.*
419. *Conſulſhip.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS II.
L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.
Ædile. *M. Agrippa.*

721. Y. of *R.*
420. *Conſulſhip.* CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.
C. SOSIUS.
Tribune of the People. Nonius Balbus.

722. Y. of *R.*
421. *Conſulſhip.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS III.
M. VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS.
Quæſtor. *M. Æmilius Anianus Flaccus.*

723. Y. of *R.*
422. *Conſulſhip.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS IV.
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

724. Y. of *R.*
423. *Conſulſhip.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS V.
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